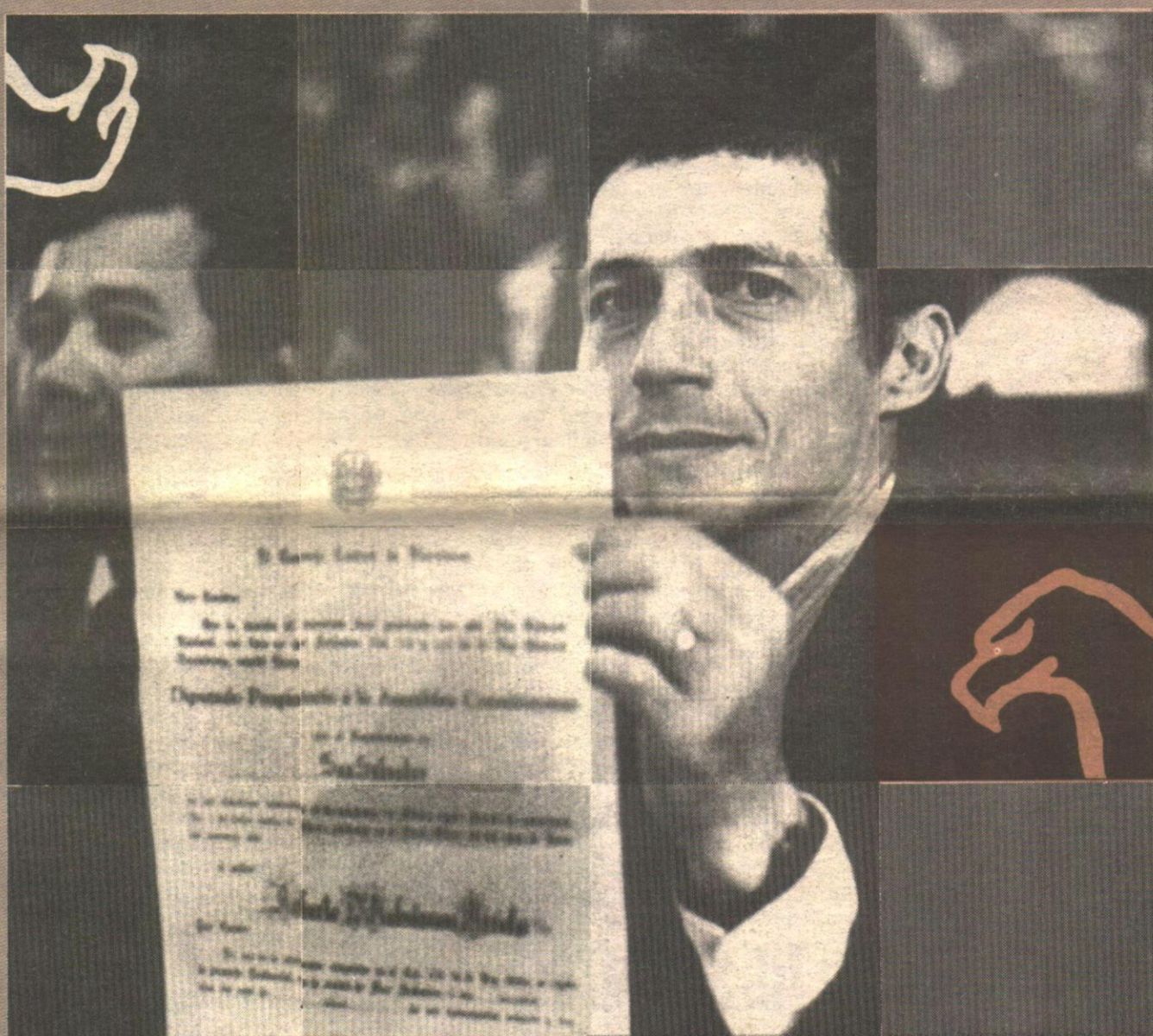




## D'Aubuisson's

## Paper Victory



Salvadoran  
ultra-rightist  
rises to power.



Page 3

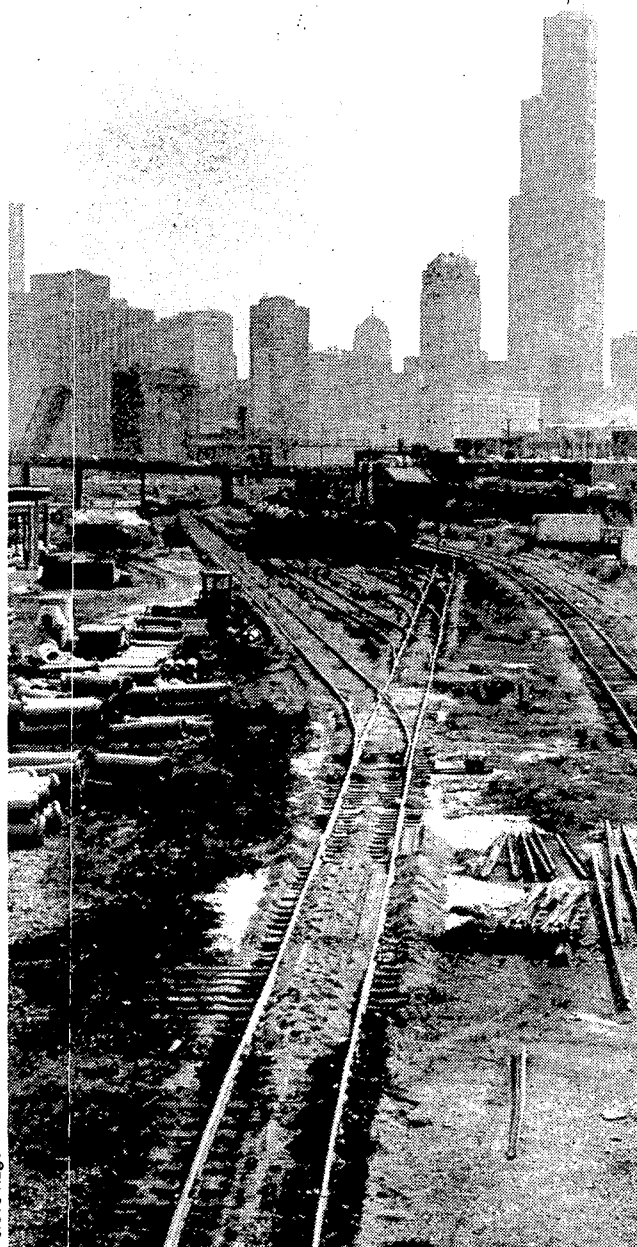
But the U.S. is calling  
the shots.

## Moral Majority: Behind the bluster

Page 6



# THE INSIDE STORY



Public planning was abandoned after World War II for the illusion of a permanent boom.

## Politics of growth won't work in an era of hard choices

By David Moberg

The failures of Reaganism—in economic and foreign policy as well as domestic politics—are becoming more apparent every day. Democrats are confidently expecting to reap the benefits. The most recent Gallup and *New York Times*/CBS polls confirm those anticipations. They dispute among themselves mainly whether they should simply point a finger of blame or offer up some ideas of their own. In the latter camp are those who would try to keep what they see as the old party flames burning as well as those who would trim the wicks and become more austere and businesslike.

So far there have been very few voices from major political figures who recognize that both Democrats and Republicans have been stuck in a deep political quagmire. There have been virtually no strategies proposed, outside the still small circles of the left, that would point the way out of the swamp, in large part because few people recognize what has bogged them down.

Alan Wolfe's new work, *America's Impasse* (Pantheon, \$16.50), explains more lucidly than any recent book why American politics is in its present shambles. It is essential reading for anyone who hopes to understand our recent history or to seek alternatives in the years ahead.

Wolfe's fundamental thesis is that at the end of World War II the U.S. was faced with a dramatic politi-

cal choice that had been delayed by the war. It could return to an old-style business-oriented conservatism or expand the New Deal's left-leaning heritage of public responsibility for civilizing and controlling capitalism.

### An economic substitute for politics.

Rather than make that choice, the Truman administration adopted an economic substitute for politics. That surrogate was growth, a promise of cornucopia that would keep everybody happy and thus disintegrate classes and ideologies with the magic solvent of money. The new growth politics picked up anti-communism as its watchword (stealing the thunder from the right) but retained the rhetoric of the left, Wolfe argues. Yet on every crucial issue the need to win "business confidence" undermined the authority of the government to intervene in the economy in an effective way.

The new growth politics produced an alliance of business, organized labor and the military. For its part, labor abandoned militant mobilization from below in exchange for a piece of a growing pie. Democrats and Republicans increasingly converged, arguing mainly over the speed and costs of inducing growth (as well as the band-aids for those hurt or left out). Liberalism, Wolfe says, became more identified with promoting growth than with correcting abuses of capitalism.

Although the policies of the period, especially when Democrats were in office, were often labeled Keynesian and the triumph of Reagan was often associated with the death of Keynesianism, Wolfe argues that the ideas of economist John Maynard Keynes were never implemented. Thus they can't be said to have failed. Instead, there was what he calls "counter-Keynesianism."

Eschewing any serious public planning, government economic policymakers emphasized management of demand rather than control over supply. Fiscal and monetary policy were set independently and often in conflict, an unworkable compromise nowhere more apparent than in the current Reagan recession. Labor's challenges to managerial decisions were neutralized by the promise of fatter paychecks (and now labor cannot find its way back to challenge management power as the paychecks are squeezed).

Selective protectionism, which Keynes defended, was abandoned in favor of an open economy oriented toward growth, but U.S. insistence on control over the new international monetary system created tight money conditions that favored narrow U.S. interests at the expense of international growth. Instead, Wolfe writes, the U.S. encouraged the expansion of its multinationals and global militarization as its contradictory "nationalistic internationalism."

Contradictions in the policy abounded. The housing programs, compromised to sustain private real estate interests, destroyed more units than were constructed. The Medicaid compromise in place of a national health system dramatically drove up medical costs while making only small improvements in national well-being. "The Great Society did not achieve equality," Wolfe writes, "because it did not try to." Often the middle class benefited most from new social programs in boom times. But when the economy tightened, the poor were blamed for problems and deprived of what little they had gained.

In foreign policy, the U.S. overreached its capacities. Unable to make choices, political leaders pursued everything, Wolfe writes, and achieved nothing. By stressing foreign aid and economic development, the U.S. obscured the fundamental causes of third world poverty: the inequities of power in the world

economic structure.

Curiously Nixon is the one president in Wolfe's history who began to recognize the impasse that had been created and attempted some reversals despite rhetoric and actions often to the contrary—detente, ending the Vietnam war, wage-price controls, changing the dollar's role in the world economy. Carter, frequently vilified as abandoning Democratic traditions, did not depart from growth politics, Wolfe argues, citing the massive proposals for synfuel projects, MX missile bases and public works. But the context had changed. The growth machine had slowed down and pressing the accelerator no longer worked.

Wolfe is weakest on explaining the changes in the economy that undermined growth. He does note that increasing economic concentration and overseas investment, both by-products of growth politics, contributed to the stagflation of the '70s. And he emphasizes that "America's impasse was caused, not by growth, but by the political price that was paid to achieve it."

### Trapped in contradictions.

But now Republicans are trapped in their own special set of contradictions. Wolfe claims that their tax policies will encourage disinvestment and speculation, their military spending may weaken the strong dollar they prize and their yen for greater world power strengthens the hand of the government they revile. Reagan the campaigner was the consummate growth politician, borrowing heavily from Kennedy, another hawk who instituted big tax breaks for business to spur growth. His promise of lower taxes, balanced budget and bigger military was a *reductio ad absurdum* of a long tradition of evading choices.

But Wolfe argues that this is an era of limits, as California Gov. Jerry Brown says, or more pointedly, an era of choices. Faced with choices, politics may resume its lost role. Postwar growth liberals had undermined security with their subservience to untrammelled self-interest, exercised enough authority to discredit the state without achieving any public objectives and lost a disillusioned and increasingly fragmented working-class base as it wooed business, Wolfe says.

Now the choice must be made for greater economic and national security (control on capital and emphasis only on defense of the American people from attack), for greater public authority on behalf of full employment and reindustrialization aimed at clearly considered purposes and for an orientation toward the working class that shifts from demeaning and costly social service bureaucracies toward economic security and job training.

At times Wolfe, who teaches sociology at Queens College, crunches a bit too simply postwar politics into a Procrustean bed. But that limitation is minor compared to the benefits of his developing a clear, simple, persuasive argument. It is not only well-documented but written with verve and elegant turns of phrase that catch the contradictory developments of the era.

His policy ideas for the future may be sketchy and not terribly original, but the problem for the left is not as much lack of ideas as it is lack of a political movement that clearly poses choices for the American people. "Much talk is heard in the '80s of the need for a program of economic revitalization," Wolfe writes. "Yet, as was true also in the '40s, economic direction must come from the political system, and American politics is stagnant. America needs a program of political revitalization before its economy will begin to work again."

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# Two power poles emerge in Salvador

By John Dinges

WASHINGTON

**E**L SALVADOR'S ELECTIONS were at first blithely proclaimed—or grudgingly recognized—as a gamble that paid dividends in legitimacy for the U.S.' anti-communist allies there. A month later, the Reagan administration's blush of success has become one of chagrin as El Salvador's elected representatives have fallen into acrimonious back-room power struggles, and U.S. officials have taken an increasingly open role as proconsul dictating the terms and personalities in the emerging government.

The problem, from the U.S. point of view, is that the wrong guys won: the followers and coalition partners of Robert d'Aubuisson, a handsome young former major with a reputation for rightist terrorism. The paradox is that the Reagan administration, after painstakingly stage-managing the elections as an exercise in democracy to create an internationally recognized government, appeared at this writing to have created a new gerry built junta apparently on a collision course with the elected legislature.

The stakes in the power struggle are high as the Salvadoran military gears up for its biggest offensive ever, expected to start in about two months against the combat-toughened troops of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front.

At stake is the formation of a government that would pursue the war against the left effectively without exacerbating the military's already horrendous reputation for brutality and continue the social and economic reforms seen as the Reagan administration's only hope of obtaining congressional approval of more aid to El Salvador.

Despite public disclaimers by U.S. Ambassador Deane Hinton that aid would "continue in any case," a stream of U.S. envoys have pressed home the message that a government led by d'Aubuisson would not be palatable. In the past U.S. officials too often used d'Aubuisson as an example of the "extreme rightists" whose violence balanced that of the guerrillas and left the U.S.-backed junta neatly in the moderate center.

But d'Aubuisson, whose political constituency is believed to include the wealthy Miami-based "oligarchs" whose political and economic power was the original target of the Salvadoran junta's reforms, has balked at U.S. efforts to shunt him into the background after his decisive electoral victory. D'Aubuisson's party, ARENA, won 19 of the Constituent Assembly's 60 seats on a platform equating the Christian Democrats and their reforms with communism and calling for a no-holds-barred war against the left.

D'Aubuisson quickly formed a majority coalition with the 14 seats won by the National Conciliation Party (PCN). The Reagan administration's credibility would also have been strained by portraying the PCN as moderate since it was the party of the military regime overthrown in 1979 by a U.S.-supported military coup.

The Christian Democrats held 24 seats, the largest bloc of seats in the Assembly, but were unable to protect the reforms or guarantee the party a role in the government against d'Aubuisson's opposition. Beginning at a breakfast with party leaders the morning after the elections, U.S. ambassador Hinton negotiated, to include the Christian Democrats in key ministries and to keep d'Aubuisson from the presidency of a new rightist-led "consensus" government. Such a consensus would have been paper-thin given the longstanding animosity and philosophical gulf between the reformist Christian Democrats and the fascist-tinged

ARENA party. So the negotiations broke off after three weeks.

U.S. pressure stiffened the week of April 20 with the arrival of special State Department envoy General Vernon Walters, former deputy director of the CIA and longtime U.S. liaison to Latin America's most rightist dictators. An aide to Sen. Jess Helms (R-N.C.)—whose friendly contacts with d'Aubuisson date to mid-1980—also arrived.

The logjam was broken the day after Walters' talk with political and army leaders, and the resulting solution evoked the country's long tradition of military hegemony in political matters. On April

22, by all accounts, the military High Command called in party leaders and dictated a compromise provisional president who would meet the U.S. requirements for continuing military aid. The president designate, Alvaro Magana (Ma-GAN-ya), the head of the semi-public Salvadoran Mortgage Bank and a generally respected figure in El Salvador, adds a fresh and potentially strong political factor to the post-election disarray.

Magana's approval of a Constituent Assembly was presumably assured by the PCN's agreement to add their 14 votes to the Christian Democrat's 24 in a onetime alliance. D'Aubuisson was furious, de-

nouncing the selection of Magana as "imposed" by junta member General Jaime Abdul Gutierrez. In retaliation, d'Aubuisson made himself president of the Constituent Assembly in defiance of U.S. wishes and drew the line of conflict between two emerging poles of power.

At one pole stands the elected assembly, controlled by the irascible d'Aubuisson and undercutting the Christian Democrats and their reforms. At that pole—which ironically has the democratic sanction conferred by the election—are the interests of the extreme right, the oligarchs and the security forces and death

*Continued on page 10*



Roberto d'Aubuisson, with ARENA party secretary Mario Redaelli (right) at his side, tells the press on April 2 that his ARENA party is willing to "share the country's destiny with the Christian Democrats" but Jose Napoleon Duarte must go.

## Roberto d'Aubuisson plays the role of villain

The political rehabilitation of Roberto d'Aubuisson began the day after his party won 29 percent of the vote in El Salvador's elections and the U.S. administration faced the possibility—still not ruled out entirely—that he might become president.

"There are people who say he's dangerous. But he has been a political leader, and I think he's behaved very well," said U.S. Ambassador Deane Hinton on March 29. A week later, in Washington, the State Department's Deputy Chief for Latin America Everett Briggs criticized those labeling d'Aubuisson's party "right-wing." The party, Briggs said, contains "some very liberal and some moderate people."

It comes as no surprise to find conveniently short memories in Washington, but the Reagan administration's flirtation began some time ago with the photogenic young major in elevator shoes.

D'Aubuisson, 38, has been a supporting actor in El Salvador's drama ever since the U.S. government and media began to pay attention to that small country after the Oct. 15, 1979 coup—and he always played the villain. One of the coup leaders' first acts was to sack d'Aubuisson, who was second in command of the former government's intelligence service. According to reports at the time and a 1979 book by a former prisoner, d'Aubuisson was in charge of the military dictator's net-

work of secret torture centers from which hundreds of prisoners disappeared.

After a brief exile in Guatemala, d'Aubuisson returned to El Salvador to make a series of TV appearances in which he revealed purported intelligence data showing prominent Salvadoran politicians inside and outside the government to be communists or linked to leftist guerrilla groups. Some of those he denounced, including respected moderate Mario Zamora, were murdered by death squads.

Video tapes began to make the rounds of military barracks in which d'Aubuisson called for a coup. He defended the security forces against criticism of human rights abuses and branded the government's nascent program of reform "communist." In May 1980, after an arrest order was issued for his alleged subversive activity, he was caught with 23 other civilians and military officers at a meeting at an oligarchical estate. According to former U.S. Ambassador to El Salvador Robert White, documents confiscated from d'Aubuisson at his arrest show "compelling" evidence that he had organized the March 24, 1980, assassination of Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero. The documents, copies of which were obtained by *In These Times*, contain lists of weapons, ammunition, silencers and other paramilitary paraphernalia, and records of expenses incurred by

teams of men described as "security," "drivers" and "marksman."

Released by the junta after a few days—in what is seen as the turning point leading to the later removal of reform leader Col. Adolfo Majano, who had ordered d'Aubuisson's arrest—d'Aubuisson was constantly linked to the wave of paramilitary violence that in the second half of 1980 raised the death toll to 1,000 a month.

That July, he traveled illegally to the U.S. and held a Washington press conference sponsored by the American Legion and the American Security Council. After the election of Ronald Reagan, a group of American rightists visited El Salvador. According to then-Ambassador White, the Americans identified themselves as members of the Reagan transition team and gave a message to Salvadoran rightists that Reagan would not look askance at a coup to throw out the remaining reformists in the government, including Christian Democratic president Jose Napoleon Duarte.

Six weeks after Reagan's inauguration, d'Aubuisson claimed that he had met with Reagan team members and received a similar message. When d'Aubuisson then hinted that the military should get rid of Duarte, the State Department first waffled, then belatedly stated that the administration did indeed oppose a coup against Duarte.

About the same time, on March 3, 1981, a gang of gunmen sprayed the U.S. Embassy in San Salvador with machine gun fire, and acting Ambassador Frederick Chapin remarked to the media that the attack "has all the hallmarks of a d'Aubuisson operation."

—John Dinges



# IN SHORT

## The sky's not the only limit

Last December, as an "act of compassion" toward the striking air traffic controllers he had fired, President Reagan signed an executive order declaring them eligible for hiring by federal agencies other than the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA). Since then, according to documents obtained by PATCO, more than 50,000 federal job openings have been filled—none of them by a former controller. The union charges that, despite the executive order, its members have been blacklisted, both by government agencies and by private employers. "In Short" stringer Calvin Zon cites a few of the examples offered by PATCO:

- An internal Department of Defense directive concerning contractors who staff certain military airport control towers warns that "the contractor is prohibited from using any FAA controllers discharged for participating in the strike Aug. 3, 1981, against the government."
- Victor D. Mathis of Linden, Calif., had been employed by the Postal Service for two months when he was fired abruptly in late December. Mathis says his supervisor told him that "the only reason I was being terminated" was his status as a fired controller.
- Out-of-work controller David E. Pentz of Canton, Mich., says he was discouraged from applying for a job with North American Van Lines by the fleet operator, who told him that "the government is applying a little pressure to everyone, as well as they did to PATCO." Pentz says the fleet operator also mentioned that the company does a lot of government contract work.

## Pentagon leak freaks

The White House crackdown on news leaks, reports the *Dallas Times-Herald* (via PNS Radio), may have claimed its first victim. Pentagon officials are trying to fire a civilian employee for allegedly leaking information to the *Washington Post* to the effect that the administration's arms buildup could cost up to \$750 billion more than publicly announced. The employee, Manpower management director John Tillson, reportedly flunked a lie detector test given to everyone who had attended a secret Pentagon meeting in January. At that gathering, officials were warned that costs for the administration's five-year defense program could run as much as 50 percent higher than the projected \$1.5 trillion. Embarrassment isn't the issue in the Tillson episode, according to Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, who thunders that the *Post* story "had national security implications, giving aid and comfort to the enemy."

For their part, both Tillson and the *Post* deny that the Manpower official was the source of the leak.

## Give that ban a cigar

The government's new regulations restricting travel to Cuba are, for the most part, a public relations ploy, according to the ACLU and the Center for Constitutional Rights (CCR). The two groups have put out a statement advising that "most people planning to travel to Cuba should not be deterred by the regulations or by the misleading characterizations of those regulations by government officials."

If you've already been to Cuba, chances are the rules will allow you to go again. There are no restrictions, for example, on travel by government officials, people visiting close relatives or those who go there for "the purpose of gathering news, making news or documentary films, engaging in professional research, or for similar activities" (similar-activities buffs take note). The U.S. travel-restrictors concede that most of the visiting traffic to Cuba will be unaffected by the regulations; so why were the rules instituted?

Supposedly, the goal was to deny Cuba hard currency. Yet the largest providers of hard currency over which our government has control—foreign-based subsidiaries of American corporations that do business in Cuba—are untouched by the new rules. (Compare the \$300 million or so tied up in such commercial transactions with the roughly \$18 million spent annually by travelers to Cuba.) And by permitting American businesses to operate unimpeded, the U.S. can't claim that its purpose is to prevent "trading with the enemy."

## A specter is haunting Venus

According to the San Francisco-based publication *Space for All People*, a new group of science fiction writers called Red Shift intends to produce sci-fi with "redeeming socialist value." "Sadly," writes Red Shift spokesman Peter J. Krala, "too much of what has been said by Heinlein, Asimov, Pournelle and others about our destiny in space has been conservative and reactionary, advancing the petty bourgeois thesis that all is fixed in human nature and [that] we will continue to fight, have wars, exploit and deal through corporations." Krala adds: "We look forward to aiding in the struggle to free space from the clutches of the Starship Troopers for the benefit of all people."

—Josh Kornbluth



A test case before immigration officials argues all Salvadoran young men are endangered by return.

## For refugees, home is where the assassins are

SAN FRANCISCO—One day recently, as a small knot of attorneys and reporters waited in the corridors of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) building, a guard pushed five shackled Salvadoran refugees through the group to a waiting elevator. The five were on their way to the San Francisco airport and a one-way ride back home.

The incident was in perfect counterpoint to the "test case" asylum hearing going on across the hall before administrative law judge Brian Simpson. National Lawyers Guild attorneys Marc van der Hout and Patty Blum are seeking to have all young male Salvadoran refugees—called *blancos*, or targets, because they are singled out for assassinations at home—considered by the INS a "social group" subject to persecution in their native country. The INS could then grant the refugees temporary asylum, or "extended voluntary departure" status, for the duration of the war in El Salvador.

"There are no quotas on granting political asylum," van der Hout says, "even though the INS granted only two Salvadoran cases in 1981 and none before that. Clearly, what matters is the politics of the situation, and we think that's changing in our favor."

Van der Hout's case directly concerns the fate of Luis Escobar, 21, and Luis Sanchez, 28, both of San Salvador. Though the INS attorney wants the hearing confined to the possibility that these two men will be tortured or killed upon their return, van der Hout and Blum have won an agreement from Judge Simpson to hear evidence that a pattern of repression exists affecting all Salvadoran males of military age. They have brought in a series of witnesses to prove the point, including the director of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights of the Organization of American States (OAS); former lieutenant-colonel Guerra y Guerra of the Salvadoran army; a former major in the feared "hacienda police"; a village priest; and Leonel Gomez, second-in-command at the Salvadoran land reform institute, who fled last year when his superior was assassinated.

"We're trying to get as much oral testimony and documentary evidence as possible on the record," says attorney Lynn Sonfield, one of several immigration lawyers assisting in the case. "Certainly we hope Judge Simpson grants these two men asylum. But we are also building a foundation for changes in INS policy, since this case will go to a board of appeals no

matter what the judge decides."

While van der Hout and Blum fight within the INS administration, attorney Peter Schey in Los Angeles has filed a class action suit in federal district court—and simultaneous petitions before the U.S. High Commission on Refugees and the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights of the OAS—charging the government with violations of due process in the treatment of Salvadoran refugees. Schey, executive director of the National Center for Immigrant Rights, Inc., hopes to win a preliminary injunction halting the return of refugees while the suit proceeds through the courts.

"We're simply trying to get the INS to abide by the provisions of the 1980 Refugee Act, which, at least on paper, makes the asylum laws impartial," Schey says. "Yet the government insists we are raising foreign policy matters." Last week a federal judge in Los Angeles rejected government motions to dismiss the case, and will soon decide whether to enjoin further deportations to El Salvador.

Attorneys Schey, van der Hout and Blum are now part of the National Salvadoran Refugee Network, a coalition of 310 community, church and legal aid groups seeking to coordinate refugee support work. Schey believes the network can at least slow down mass deportations by keeping the Reagan administration to the letter of the law.

—Thomas Bruns





## Lawsuit is par for the Coors

SAN FRANCISCO—Working as a janitor, Howard Wallace earns \$210 a week. So it might seem a bit strange that Coors, the Colorado-based brewing giant that sold almost a billion dollars' worth of beer in 1981, has sued Wallace for \$145,000.

Coors charges that Wallace, the coordinator of the Northern California Coors Boycott Committee, is trying to "drive Coors out of business." The lawsuit, filed in February in U.S. District Court in San Francisco, also names other defendants: Solidarity, a local gay and lesbian political action group; the Northern California Coors Boycott Committee; and A. David Slicker, a former Coors employee who is a national field representative for the AFL-CIO and the national coordinator of the Coors boycott.

The boycott was organized in 1978, when Coors successfully broke a 20-month strike by Brewery Workers Local 366 after employees who had crossed picket lines voted to decertify the union. Since then, sales of Coors beer have plummeted—particularly in California, the company's largest market. In 1977, with 45 percent of the market, Coors was the best-selling beer in the state. Today it has about 20 percent of the California market, less than half of Budweiser's share.

Coors' suit arose from a May 1981 incident in which KQED, the largest public television station in the Bay Area, canceled a proposed "Coors' Day" at its annual fundraising auction. In exchange for 13 hours of publicity, Coors and its distributors would donate \$13,000 to KQED. But as opposition to Coors' Day mounted, KQED asked the company to withdraw its offer because of threats of "implied violence."

The Coors suit poses a two-pronged challenge. Focusing on the KQED incident, the brewer seeks compensatory and punitive damages from the defendants for allegedly "coercing and compelling KQED to breach its contract" with Coors—a charge that Wallace flatly denies. "Coors' Day," the suit brashly asserts, would have provided the company with "unique advertising and promotional opportunities."

The second part of the suit represents Coors' attempt to do in court what it has failed to do with a multi-million-dollar ad campaign—which is to end the boycott and halt the erosion of its share in the California beer market. Coors' suit seeks an injunction against all boycott activity by the defendants. Since the Boycott Committee is not a union, the company contends, it is not protected by the federal and state antitrust regulations that permit trade unions to organize boycotts.

In its allegations of antitrust violations, the Coors suit is similar to one brought in 1980 by the State of Missouri against the National Organization for Women and another brought in 1979 by merchants in Port Gibson, Miss., against the NAACP and other civil rights groups.

Both cases arose from boycotts by non-union groups. And in each, a federal court ruled in favor of the boycotters.

—Frank Clancy

A longer version of this article first appeared in the San Francisco Bay Guardian.

## A handshake and an appeal

BERKELEY, CA—Specifically excluded from President Reagan's Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI), the government of Grenada responded this month by sending two of its top officials on a 10-city "friendship" tour through the U.S. and Canada. Chris de Riggs, a member of the New Jewel Movement executive committee, and Ian Jacobs, deputy ambassador to the U.N. and the Organization of American States, are busy circulating a counter-proposal to the CBI, establishing new chapters of the U.S.-Grenada Friendship Association and encouraging some of the more than 400,000 Grenadians living abroad to come home.

"We talked with a Grenadian dentist in Detroit who is coming back," de Riggs said in the office of Berkeley mayor Gus Newport. "The brother feels isolated, and needs to be nurtured in his native land."

The exodus of skilled workers from the Caribbean is one of the region's biggest obstacles to development. At the time of Grenada's revolution in 1979, for instance, the country had only 15 doctors. But de Riggs had to address an even more pressing problem on this visit: President Reagan's selective aid proposal, announced last month, threatens to isolate Grenada economically just when it desperately needs multinational credits to help build a modern infrastructure.

"Foreign investors will not be interested in doing even feasibility studies if a country lacks reliable power supply, communication facilities, international airport, adequate and reliable water supply, roads and a good internal transportation system," states a Grenada government response to the CBI. Yet, of the \$350 million earmarked for U.S. government assistance to the private sectors of the recipient countries, only about \$100 million will finance basic development in the 18 small islands of the region. The rest will go largely to El Salvador, and to buying military hardware for Barbados.

De Riggs would like to see a multinational approach to aid, rather than what he sees as an attempt "to open the Caribbean to re-colonization" through the private-sector-oriented CBI. Grenada proposes the active involvement of Mexico, Venezuela, Canada and the European Economic Community in formulating any regional aid package—an odd combination, given the Reagan administration's insistence that Grenada is a totalitarian state permanently soured on the West. The island also calls for a "zone of peace" in the Caribbean, which would mean the removal of U.S. military bases from Guantanamo and Puerto Rico.

—Thomas Brom



Club members are dying to be vaporized in a nuclear attack.

## Briefing: Chain reaction

News and notes on nuclear energy, nuclear weapons and the antinuclear movement.

If the nuclear freezers don't stop the arms race, there's always the Ground Zero Club (GZC). Not to be confused with Roger Molander's Ground Zero, the GZC began in New York City about two years ago, has spread to 22 states and is dedicated to the following proposition: "In the aftermath of a nuclear attack, it is said that the living will envy the dead. Therefore, why not be among the dead?...The members of the Ground Zero Club want to be among the first to be vaporized." According to the GZC newsletter, the club's activities include "reverse civil defense drills," in which members practice getting to the target area ("ground zero") in time for the big bang.

A few honorary GZC memberships seem in order for scientists at the Department of Energy (DOE). A recent DOE study recommended that after a nuclear attack, people over 40 years of age should be the first to leave the bomb shelters. These post-attack pioneers would search for food and clean up a bit for the younger survivors. Since older people have a shorter life expectancy anyway, the study reasoned, near-lethal doses of radiation wouldn't make much of a difference. Another plus: They wouldn't pass on any radiation-induced genetic defects to future generations.

The study—titled "Minimizing Excess Radiogenic Cancer Deaths After a Nuclear Attack"—was not a direct hit with the Gray Panthers, who are busy enough these days defending the rights of older citizens. Gray Panthers president Maggie Kuhn called the DOE's recommendation "absolutely revolting—genocidal."

For another dose of post-holocaust logic, here's a tip from Thomas K. Jones, the deputy undersecretary of defense for strategic theater nuclear forces. "Everybody's going to make it," Jones cheerfully told the *Los Angeles Times*, "if there are enough shovels to go around. Dig a hole, cover it with a couple of doors and throw three feet of dirt on top. It's the dirt that does it."

The Reagan administration has not yet confirmed whether shovels are included in its new seven-year, \$4.2 billion civil defense program. Nor has it indicated whether the gravediggers' union will be involved. Before the White House can proceed, however, it must first convince Cambridge and Philadelphia to cooperate. The city councils there stubbornly refuse to dig holes around town, to relocate their constituency or to participate in any other part of the civil defense program—even if the operation is prepaid with precious federal funds.

The Cambridge City Council has a better idea. On March 29, the council unanimously declared June 12 "Preventive Evacuation Day." "The citizens of Cambridge are urged to join a mass rally for disarmament in New York City," the resolution reads, because "the sole means of protecting Cambridge citizens from nuclear warfare would be for nations with nuclear arms to destroy those arms and renounce their use." The June 12 rally coincides with the opening of the second Special Session on Disarmament at the United Nations. The rally will call for a freeze on production, and the eventual reduction, of all nuclear weapons worldwide, and will demand the transfer of military funds to meet human needs.

More than 60 national

organizations and a thousand local groups have endorsed the rally. Union support has also come from several unions.

For more information, write the Rally Committee, 853 Broadway, New York, NY 10003; or call (212) 460-8980. On June 14, for those who want to bring the disarmament message to the doorstep of the major nuclear powers, there will be several civil disobedience sit-ins, known collectively as "Blockade the Bombmakers," at each country's U.N. mission. Get details from the CD Campaign, 339 Lafayette Street, New York, NY 10012, (212) 777-4737.

With all the worry about bombs and their fallout, many people might forget about nuclear power plants. But not media wizard David Garth, who has taken time off from New York mayor Ed Koch's gubernatorial race to work for the Long Island Lighting Company (LILCO). Garth is masterminding publicity for LILCO's new Shoreham nuclear reactor, located just 56 miles from New York City. The utility's operating-license hearings before the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) began last month and—not coincidentally—so did Garth's radio ads for Shoreham (at a cost of \$800,000).

The ads are designed to speed LILCO's way toward a license for Shoreham, but there are obstacles ahead. Suffolk County, where the plant is located, refuses to participate in the NRC-required evacuation plan for the area. The county is also concerned about safety at Shoreham, and has hired its own engineering team to inspect the plant. (So far, LILCO has fought off an independent inspection.) While lawyers for the Shoreham Opponents Coalition give LILCO a hard time in the hearing room, protests continue outside. During a recent hearing, one picket sign advised: "Avoid the rush—evacuate now." —Susan Jaffe  
Susan Jaffe also reports on nuclear issues for the Village Voice.



# IN THE NATION

## MORAL MAJORITY

# Falwell and Co.— on the skids... or speeding up?

By Chuck Fager

WASHINGTON

**H**AS THE MORAL MAJORITY peaked? Well no, but the following incidents would at first glance seem to indicate that it has.

- Early last year, Jim Wright, the youthful head of the Maryland Chapter, came to Annapolis to praise the Lord and battle iniquity. Maryland—home of such illustrious political figures as former Vice President Spiro Agnew and recently paroled, ex-governor Marvin Mandel—is a state whose government could use some cleaning up. But Wright's first big crusade did not concern official corruption. Instead, it dealt with banning the sale of some anatomically correct gingerbread boy and girl cookies made by a local bakery. Predictably, cookie sales soared, and the legislators are still laughing. As for Wright, the staff at Moral Majority

year. He is now working full time to halt *Reader's Digest's* plans to publish a condensed version of the Bible—something he considers more perilous to Christian civilization than abortion or sexual perversion.

- About a year ago Michael Farris, of the Washington State chapter, went to court to try to force disclosure of the names of public schools that had checked out a sex education film from the state library.

- Last, but certainly not least, there was Dean Wycoff, chairman of the Santa Clara County, Calif., chapter, who opined to reporters that capital punishment, in "line" with Biblical dictates, would be an appropriate "treatment" for homosexuality.

In addition to the above items, a look at the national political scene would also imply that the MM's influence is declining. Although the conservative victories in 1980 were supposed to have made the Rev. Jerry Falwell and his MM legions a

tion for the president.

The MM has done a little better in Congress, though it has hardly become a major player on Capitol Hill. It had one undoubted victory, a successful campaign last fall to overturn a liberalized sex code for the District of Columbia. The code, which had been duly passed by the District's City Council, would among other things have legalized homosexual acts between consenting adults. To stop this "abomination," Falwell sent letters to people on his four-million plus mailing list, each more luridly apocalyptic in tone than the last, painting the nation's capital a veritable San Francisco on the Potomac.

Not surprisingly, Congress was showered with tons of outraged mail, and it obligingly squashed the District's code. But while the campaign got a lot of attention it was not an indication of any great influence by Falwell over the legislative process: The rejection of the code was widely seen by informed observers as a throwaway vote—one that, however tawdry, allowed members of Congress to mollify the noisier folks back home without effecting the behavior of Washington, D.C., citizens.

When it comes to actually passing bills, the MM has done no better than other New Right groups, which means not very well. Indeed, Falwell's other main achievement at this point is his success at avoiding being drawn into the

### MM's strategy of boring in on fundamentalists' deepest phobias may pay off.

questions about the MM's prospects, one can always turn to a reading of Falwell's effusions, especially the impassioned fundraising letters he sends out so often. (Falwell sends out a fund appeal letter every week of the year, alternating between MM and his *Old Time Gospel Hour* empire.)

Repeatedly over the last year, Falwell wrote to his followers that MM and his other projects faced an increasingly grave financial crisis. In May he warned them that he might soon have to stop publishing the monthly tabloid *Moral Majority Report*. In midsummer he enlisted the help of Helms, the Senate's premier right-wing fundraiser, who sent an emergency appeal to his many followers urging a huge "love offering" to stave off financial disaster for Falwell and his cause.

By October, according to Falwell, the situation was almost hopeless. "I can't go another month without your help," he wrote on October 15. "We must pay our bills! That is the plain truth—not emotionalism—the truth!" He added that Ron Godwin had been forced to lay off 25 workers at MM headquarters. And in a letter dated December 24, Christmas Eve, his tone was almost funereal. His family was all together for the holidays, he wrote, but he could not share the joy of the season, because "in a few days this year will be history. And the *Old Time Gospel Hour* and the Liberty Baptist College schools may become history as well. Our delinquencies may possibly force us off the air in the next few days. The schools may be damaged seriously. We are critically behind with payments to our television and radio stations—and other creditors."

Five days later, he wrote once more, telling fans of the show that it had been taken off 16 stations for lack of money, and would soon be dropped from more unless contributions picked up.

Yes, in the eyes of his adversaries—of which, Falwell frequently reminded his flock, he had so very many—this stream of appeals made extremely hopeful reading. They described an organization unable to capitalize on its notoriety—one facing serious and deepening financial difficulty. Along with the group's marginal success in Washington, D.C., and its repeated embarrassments at the local level, they reinforced an image of MM as a group on the skids.

### Unraveling the puzzle.

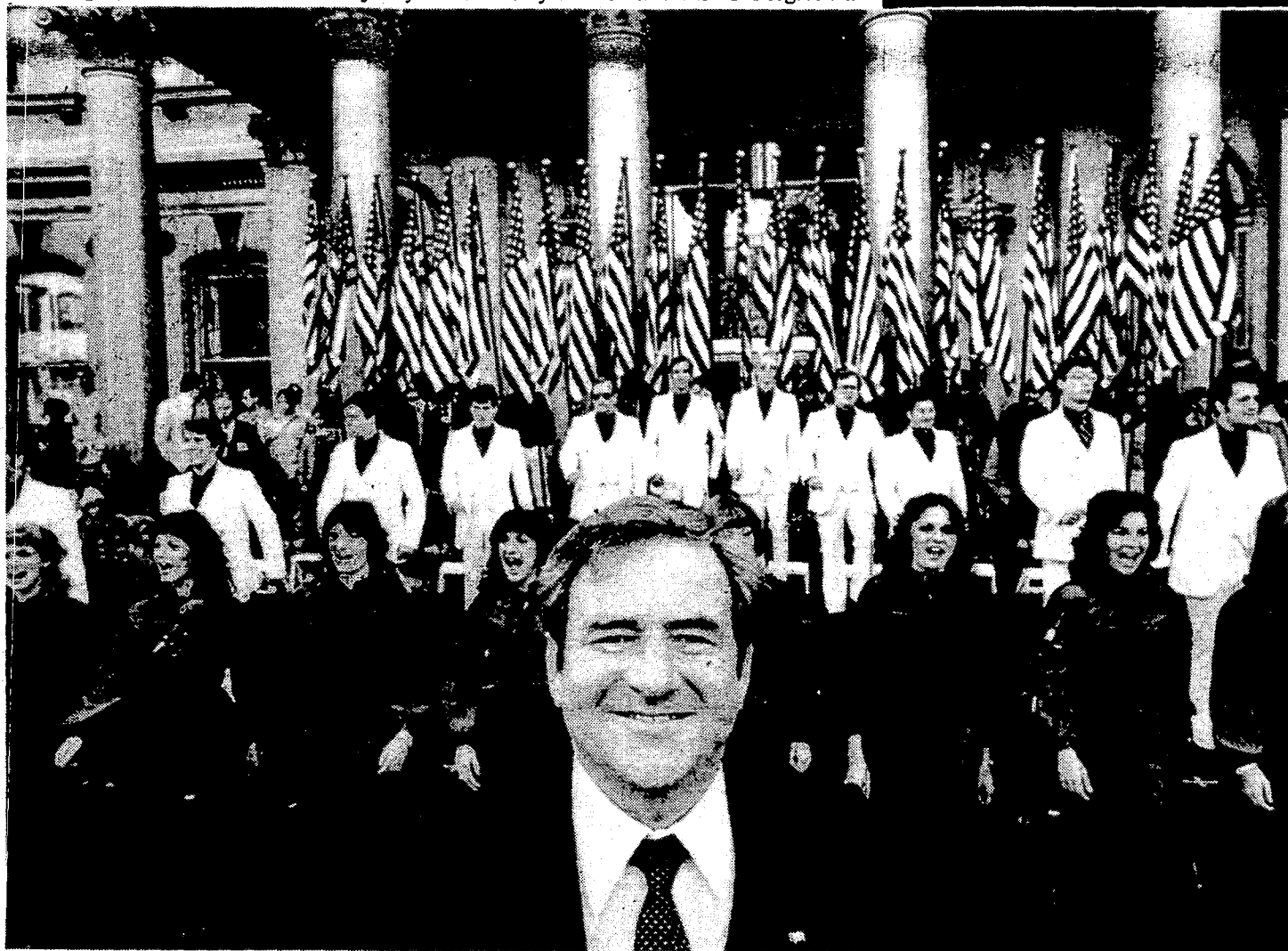
It is a comforting and seductive thought, but it isn't true. Consider the following:

- An audit of MM's finances released last August showed that as of last June 30, the group had taken in \$5.77 million in the previous 12 months, compared to \$2.2 million the year before. Further, Vice President Godwin told *In These Times* that MM expects to take in \$6.5 million by the end of the current fiscal year. Thus, this year MM's income will be three times as much as in 1980.

- Falwell's desperate-sounding appeals, then, were more than a little disingenuous. It turns out that the tone and content of Falwell's steady stream of letters was dictated by a tested, highly effective fundraising strategy. The essence of this strategy was laid out last spring in an ad placed in *Religious Broadcasting* magazine by Falwell's direct mail consultant—the Richmond, Va., firm of Huntsinger Jeffries Van Grosbeck. The ad, under the title "This Spring, Examine the Logic of Being Illogical," read in part: "It seems logical that your donors would appreciate success stories and stories that have a happy ending. And yet, logical or not, when a success story is tested against a disaster story, the success story almost always turns out second best. Under almost all circumstances, a 'crisis appeal' will out-pull a victory appeal."

- Last August's audit showed both MM and the *Old Time Gospel Hour* running at deficits, of \$558,635 and \$6.5 million respectively. And MM did in fact lay off about 25 people in the fall. But Godwin explained to a Lynchburg reporter who inquired about the emergency appeals sent out at that time that the

Continued on page 10



Jerry Falwell's fundraising letters stress crisis—not victory—because bad news pulls in more cash.

headquarters in Lynchburg, Va., was so mortified by his antics that they jerked his credentials and disbanded the state organization last May.

- Then there was the Rev. Dan Fore of Brooklyn, the MM's man in New York, who put his foot in his mouth—and re-wrote history—when interviewed by the *New York Times* and *New York* magazine. He told the *Times* that "Jews have a God-given ability to make money. They control the media, they control this city." Next, he explained to Jewish reporter Joe Klein that the Spanish Inquisition did not constitute Christian persecution of the Jews because, "Those weren't Christians. They were Roman Catholics." Fore quit the MM late last

force to be reckoned with in Washington, so far they have done little more than fill another pot stuck firmly on President Reagan's back burner. Only one certified Moral Majoritarian, former Executive Director Robert Billings, landed a plum job in the administration, and he is stuck somewhere in the middle level of the Department of Health and Human Services.

The administration's unresponsiveness to their social issue agenda has left most other New Rightists spluttering in helpless rage. But Falwell, perhaps because he is shrewder than most, has maintained his cool. He is now pointing out his independence from the administration (after all, MM did not formally endorse Reagan), while reaffirming his boundless admira-

current conservative catfight over legislative strategy against abortion. The right-to-life movement, generally considered the glue holding the New Right coalition together, has recently split into factions lined up behind one or the other of two competing bills now before the Senate, one sponsored by Sen. Orrin Hatch (R-Utah), the other by Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.).

But the Moral Majority is maintaining an above-the-battle stance. "We haven't picked one side or the other between Hatch and Helms," MM's executive vice president Ron Godwin said in March. "At some point down the road we may have to, but we haven't yet."

But if all this is not enough to raise



## COVERT ACTION



# Why Reagan likes the leaks

By Craig Nelson

WASHINGTON

**A**FTER A FLURRY OF WHITE House news leaks in mid-March had confirmed his approval of covert operations against Nicaragua, one would have expected slightly more chagrin from President Reagan. But he was not "especially upset" about the leaks because, according to an unnamed White House official quoted by NBC News, the reports conveyed his determination to counter what he considers aggression in Central America.

News leaks from the executive branch about ongoing covert operations are unusual in their own right. But the president's apparent satisfaction about the revelations signals that public disclosure about covert operations is, in the mind of this administration, crucial to the success of its foreign policy. By proving his credentials as a hardliner and avoiding public debate about the wisdom of covert action in Nicaragua, Reagan has emerged victorious from this episode.

The reports referred to by the president were carried by the *New York Times*, *The Washington Post* and the three major TV networks. Based on leaks from unnamed administration officials all the way up to the White House, they indicated that the president had authorized late last year a plan of covert political and paramilitary activity against Nicaragua, including the expansion of a CIA program to provide funds to moderate forces in the country and the formation of a paramilitary force in collaboration with other Latin American countries.

These were not the first disclosures concerning covert operations in Central America. Notably, in the June 20 issue of *The New Republic*, Nick Kotz and Morton Kondracke wrote, citing several "highly placed government officials," that the administration had been considering a Bay of Pigs-type paramilitary operation and a more protracted destabilization program against the Sandinista government since early February of last year.

And, on Dec. 4—only three days after the president's official authorization of covert action in Nicaragua—the *Boston Globe* published an article by William Beecher that said a decision to "press covert action in Nicaragua and El Salvador" and to "infiltrate hostile elements into these countries" had been made at a recent meeting of the National Security Council. Other Latin American countries could be of help in such efforts, one source told Beecher.

But these stories neither directly implicated high administration officials in the decision to launch a clandestine operation in Central America, nor were they carried by what are regarded as the most

prestigious news organizations in the country.

Then, on Feb. 14, the *Post* ran a front-page story by Don Oberdorfer and Patrick Tyler that quoted "informed sources" as saying that in mid-November the president had authorized a "broad program of U.S. planning and action" in Central America, including the "encouragement of political and paramilitary operations by other governments against the Cuban presence in Nicaragua."

Later, on March 10, Tyler and Bob Woodward reported that the president had specifically approved a \$19 million CIA plan to create a paramilitary force of up to 500 Latin Americans, who would operate out of commando camps spread along the Honduran-Nicaraguan border. Tyler and Woodward said the aim of the force is, according to "informed administration officials," to disrupt the Nicaraguan economy by destroying such vital installations as power plants and bridges.

The next day the *Times* carried a piece by Philip Taubman that claimed the president had rejected any U.S.-sponsored paramilitary action but had approved a CIA plan (now underway) to provide millions of dollars to Nicaraguan citizens and to private organizations. The *Times* story quoted CIA deputy director Bobby Inman as saying, in response to reporters' questions about the *Post*'s allegations of U.S. support for covert action projects, "I would suggest to you that \$19 million, or \$29 million, isn't going to bring you much of any kind [of projects] these days."

On March 14 the *Times* corrected the Taubman story. Despite confirmation of the March 10 *Post* story by Sen. Barry Goldwater (R-Ariz.), chairman of the Senate Committee on Intelligence, Leslie Gelb reported that the president only approved "in general" the idea of a paramilitary force and did not specify the role the CIA should play in conjunction with other Latin American governments, particularly Argentina. He added that the paramilitary unit the president approved calls for attacks on Cuban arms supply lines in Central America and not, as the *Post* reported, on vital installations in Nicaragua in order to destabilize the government.

## A stalemate.

The efforts of the *Post* and the *Times* to establish what paramilitary actions Reagan had approved last year and what their aims were ended in a stalemate and left many reporters "feeling had," according to a source at the *Post*. When questioned about the stalemate, reporters at both newspapers cited the authority of their "administration sources" and stand by their conflicting stories.

Explanations for the leaks upon which the subsequent stories were based are numerous. One theory, advanced by a reporter at the *Post*, is that some employees at the CIA leaked the infor-



The Reagan administration leaks about covert activities prompted the Sandinista government to declare a state of emergency.

mation to demonstrate their opposition to the kind of covert operations approved by Reagan. Another theory suggests the leaks were a trial balloon, designed to gauge opposition to covert action in Central America. The third, and most likely, explanation is that officials in the administration leaked the information to show that the president is taking a hard line against what he regards as Cuban-Soviet sponsored subversion in Central America. Leaks of this kind by White House officials reportedly infuriated CIA deputy director Inman and was one of the reasons for his recent resignation.

A *Post* reporter called the administration's leaks "one of the most sophisticated things that has been done by an administration in years." Now the president has it both ways. To reassure his right-wing allies, he can wave press clippings about covert action to destabilize Nicaragua that bear the White House stamp of approval. In answer to critics who challenge the covert activities he has approved, Reagan can spout the traditional "no comment" that has protected the CIA from all accountability, or, as special assistant to the president Edwin Meese did in mid-March, he can call reports on covert action a threat to "national security."

To confound Reagan's domestic critics even more, the conflicting news reports that resulted from the leaks made it difficult to determine what activities by anti-Sandinista groups in Central America are related to the CIA-sponsored covert operations. The executive branch has the in-

fluence to cast doubt on the veracity of any news report alleging CIA complicity in such activities. This influence is partly a consequence of congressional willingness to defer to the executive branch's authority in areas of foreign policy, especially where they concern activities by the CIA.

As a result, editorial comments and news reports do not include covert action against Nicaragua in their discussions of overall U.S. policy toward that country. For example, in a March 22 *Newsweek* cover story titled "Taking Aim at Nicaragua," covert action is mentioned in only three of the article's 47 paragraphs.

In Nicaragua, the mid-March reports from Washington had their desired effect. Coupled with the demolition of two bridges in northern Nicaragua, they prompted the Sandinista government to declare a state of national emergency, further undermining its already-weak economy. Rumors of a new round of negotiations with the U.S. also began emanating from Managua.

Furthermore, they unleashed sharp criticism from representatives of the moderate sector in Nicaragua that the covert operations are allegedly designed to support. Jaime Chamorro, publisher of *La Prensa*, said, "It's evident there is a campaign by the Reagan administration to prepare American public opinion for any possibility."

Alfonso Robelo, a former member of the government junta and now one of its principal opponents, detected a strategy in the leaks: "When the moderates are all hanging in the streets of Managua, then the U.S. says, 'look what the Sandinistas did to the moderates,' and uses it as a pretext for invasion. We are cannon fodder."

## Calculated ambiguity.

The leaks about covert action are consistent with the longstanding Reagan administration policy of "calculated ambiguity" toward Central America. The policy combines refusal to assure Central American countries that the U.S. will not militarily intervene with promises of its willingness to negotiate any issue. With nations of comparable strength, this policy may be wise, but with the weak countries of Central America it spells only fear and a vigorous arms race.

In the otherwise bleak history of media reaction to U.S. covert intervention, the recent episode has been a highlight. Prior to the CIA-sponsored coup in Guatemala in 1954, the Dulles brothers—secretary of state John and CIA director Allen—successfully managed to persuade the publisher of the *New York Times* to remove a troublesome reporter from Guatemala by feeding his publisher false and misleading information. Dispatches by the reporter, Sydney Gruson, had challenged the prevailing assumption that Jacobo Arbenz's presidency constituted a marxist foothold in Central America.

Before the Bay of Pigs fiasco in 1961, *Times* publisher Orvil Dryfoos deleted references to the CIA in Tad Szulc's article about the impending invasion after talking to then-President John F. Kennedy. The resulting headline read only "Anti-Castro units trained to fight at Florida bases."

News stories about Chile from 1970-1973 took for granted Washington's official stance of tolerance toward the Salvador Allende government. On the day Allende was inaugurated, ABC's Howard K. Smith declared, "There has been and there will be no resistance by the U.S." to the new government. As Smith spoke in October 1970, the CIA was authorized to spend over \$1 million to defeat Allende.

How in the future the media will pursue its revelations of the Reagan administration's covert actions against Nicaragua is unclear. But its initial failure to integrate these activities into subsequent news reports and editorial comments about U.S. relations to Central America is disturbing since it helped the administration to successfully obtain passive acceptance of covert activities—without congressional or public debate.

Craig Nelson is a research associate at the Institute for Policy Studies.



## NICARAGUA

## Local militias fight "contras"

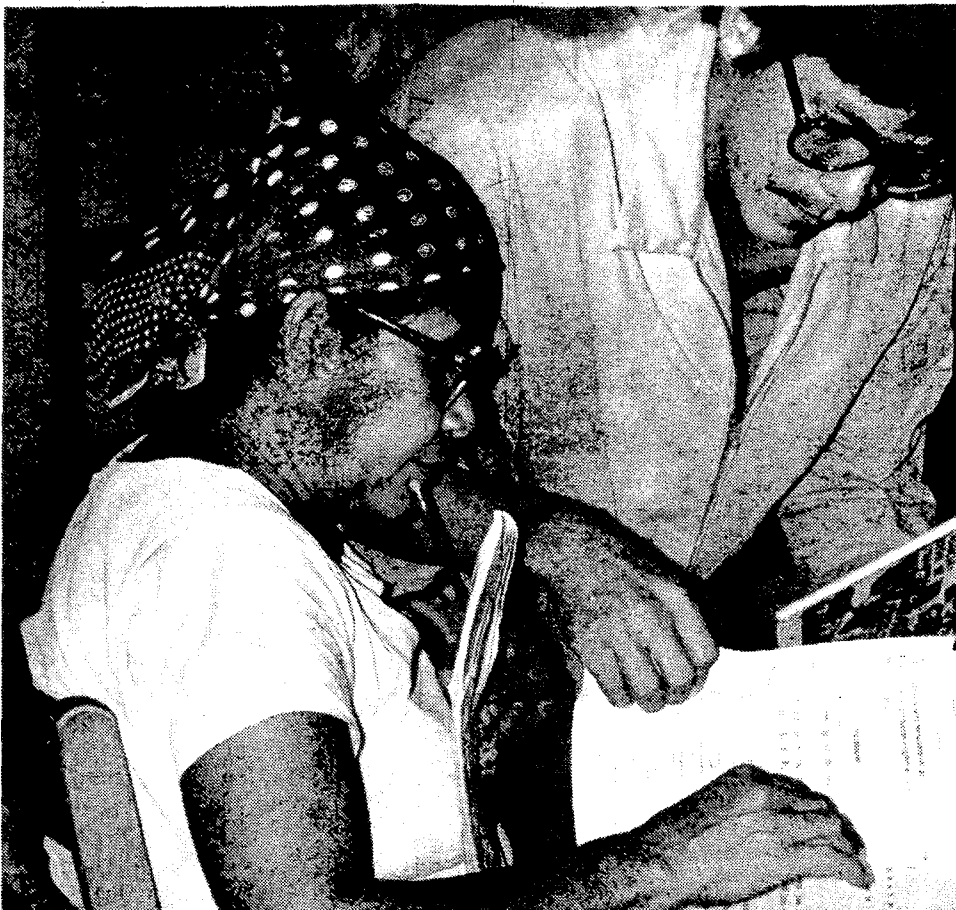
By David Moberg

**I**N A SMALL BAMBOO AND THATCHED roof chapel that served a small mountain village of the Nicaraguan province of central Zelaya, Rev. Robert Stark and another priest had just finished a period of Biblical reflection in the late afternoon. Stark, a U.S.-born Catholic priest with the Order of the Blessed Sacrament, was finishing his first six months of a 10-year assignment to Nicaragua, where he had been asked to make the circuit of peasant villages in this region roughly 80 miles from the Honduran border.

Suddenly a group of about 15 armed men burst into the chapel, announcing that they were "contras" or counter-revolutionaries. They rounded up another 30 villagers and packed them into the chapel, pulling out for questioning five of the Christian lay leaders of the village—the same people who had provided the community's main political leadership. Then, telling the people not to leave the chapel, they parted, promising that they would hurt no one.

But Stark and his colleague discovered otherwise. They sneaked out and headed down the road. There they found the bullet-riddled body of a respected local leader, Emiliano Perez, a man in his 50s with ten children and a pregnant wife. Several people had witnessed his kidnapping by the armed band earlier in the day. Stark tried to take him to the nearest medical facility, but it was too late.

He became one of 30 among the 30,000 people of the area to die at the hands of the roving counter-revolutionaries in the



Despite intimidation by counter-revolutionaries, villagers are asking for literacy brigade teachers.

past six months, according to Stark. Because of the attempt to save Perez, the village received warnings that it was marked for retaliation by the *contras*. At his funeral, some of Perez's children and other villagers were armed in self-defense.

In addition to border raids and other sabotage, counter-revolutionaries have

disrupted life in Zelaya, killing leaders of cooperatives, people who cooperate with health and education campaigns, two Cuban teachers and even children. Their attacks have spread fear and hurt the local peasant economy. Generally not known by the local people, the counter-revolutionaries appear to be linked to ex-Somoza supporters in Honduras

who have, in some cases, admitted receiving U.S. aid.

But the work of organizing cooperatives, extending agricultural credits, making health care available and promoting literacy continues—largely under the direction of coordinators elected from the village who represent women's groups, cooperatives and other organized groups within the area. Although there are Italian doctors and as many as 40 Cuban literacy teachers in the region, many peasants are also learning rudimentary reading and health skills, which they pass on to others.

Although the Nicaraguan army has taken up positions along the border, defense in the Zelaya mountains falls to the local population that has organized itself into a militia, armed mainly with Belgian-made rifles provided by the government. Such decentralization of power goes contrary to the images of Nicaragua as a Sovietized country, Stark says.

## Power has been decentralized for self-defense.

"What other country in Central America is giving their people arms?" he asks. "That's a direct sign that the government has confidence in the people."

The attacks "helped us organize the people," Stark said during a recent visit to the U.S., where he was subjected to threats and physical disruption of meetings by Somoza supporters. "But in isolated areas, it takes its toll on people."

Yet new leaders are taking the places of the earlier victims, and despite the obvious dangers, two villages that had previously refused to have Cuban teachers—fearing they were atheists—have now requested them, Stark said.

## Self-Determination & the African-American People

by James R. Forman

### Are the African-American people a nation without self-determination?

This book takes the position that this is true. In it are described the origins and development of the term self-determination, revealing aspects of the suppressed history of the February 1917 Russian revolution and inner secrets of what happened to the former Third International.

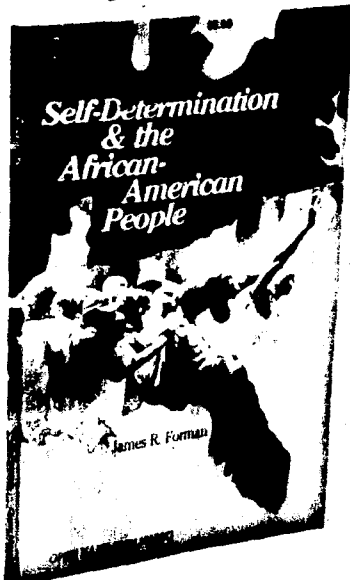
After analyzing how self-determination was treated in the U.S. by various forces, this study concludes that the African-American people are an oppressed nation in a definable section of the south and are national minorities outside of that area.

This book maintains that the oppressed African-American nation and its national minority areas are entitled now to autonomy under the existing socio-economic arrangement in the U.S.

### James R. Forman

was formerly the executive secretary of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), and is currently chairman of the Unemployed and Poverty Action Committee (UPAC), a civil and human rights organization that is working on the passage of the 1965 Civil Rights Act, The Equal Rights Amendment, and improved human rights in El Salvador, Guatemala, South Africa, and elsewhere.

Jim Forman is the author of *The Making of Black Revolutionaries* (Macmillan & Co., 1972) and *Sammy Young, Jr.* the story of the first black college student to die in the Black Liberation Movement, (Grove Press, 1968).



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New York • May 22 (8 PM) Schimmel Aud., Tisch Hall, 40 W. 4th St.

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"Fantastic performance." *Baltimore Sun*

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# FALKLAND ISLANDS



As a group of Kelpers gather in a Port Stanley street, members of the Argentine armed forces watch in the background.

## The real losers are the locals

By J.H. Evans and Jack Epstein

PORT STANLEY, FALKLANDS

**R**EGARDLESS OF WHO WINS the tug-of-war over this south Atlantic archipelago, the Islanders seem destined to be the losers. The press barely mentions them in their daily accounts of the struggle between Britain and Argentina, and yet they are the people most threatened.

But their role of being ignored victims of history is a familiar one, despite Margaret Thatcher's claims that their wishes remain "paramount." They have heard that one before in their long quarrelsome relationship with successive British administrations, and each time it has sounded less convincing. Still, it took a long time for them to wake up to their situation.

The 1800 British-stock residents (called Kelpers, because of expansive offshore kelp beds) who colonized and developed the 200 treeless islands lying 300 miles off the Argentine Patagonian coast preferred their colonial status and seemed willing to follow the British lead in the handling of their affairs (see sidebar).

That lasted until 1980 when, aware that they were an unrecognized third party in their own future, they demanded a say in United Nations (U.N.) negotia-

tions over sovereignty of the Islands and quickly pushed themselves into the forefront of the dispute to the chagrin of both nations.

What provoked the Kelpers was not that the U.N. had backed Argentina's position, but that Britain was acquiescing to its South American adversary's demands. The Islanders realized that international sentiment was opposed to colonial holdings, and that Britain, suffer-

ing a debilitated home economy, was thinking twice about antagonizing the world for the sake of a colony of questionable long-term value 8,000 miles away. Also, there was the British wariness of being forced into the political and financial strain of fighting for the Islands should Britain have to defend its title.

British officials didn't admit that. Instead they claimed, and still claim, that the Falklands will remain in their hands

Harry Milne, general manager of the Falkland Islands Company



J.H. Evans

until the Kelpers deem otherwise. In spite of that avowal, the Islanders were deeply suspicious of Britain's intentions.

Their sense of betrayal intensified in the early '70s, especially when the 1972 and 1974 communications agreements made the Islands dependent on Argentina for fuel and air transportation to the continent. The Kelpers thought pacts like this lent credence to the feeling that British "schemes" were aimed at returning the Falklands to the Argentines via economic ties.

Adding to their insecurity was the knowledge that only a token force of Royal Marines guarded the Islands against possible invasion, which the Marines admitted they couldn't prevent. They also complained about a lack of weapons practice due to budget restrictions.

Another sore point was the 1981 British Nationality Act that eliminated Kelpers from immediate residency in the United Kingdom unless their parents or paternal grandfathers were born there. For people who are generations removed from Britain, yet who remain fiercely proud of their British heritage, this was a hard blow. (Actually the controversial law was merely an elaboration of a 1948 bill.) But British authorities have said that under the present circumstances restrictions against the Kelpers "right of abode" in England would probably be waived.

The final straw, however, was the 1980 House of Commons appearance of Nicholas Ridley, minister of state for the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, who had just returned from a mission to

Continued on page 22

## A port that time forgot

Prior to the April 2 invasion, not much had changed in the Falklands since the English brigands gave the boot to the Argentine gauchos in January 1833. Over time, sheep ranching and wool exporting (660,000 head on farms ranging from 100,000 acres to 3,000 acres) had replaced cattle and tallow as the principal industries, and the Spanish residue settlement of Puerto Soledad had been abandoned for a more accessible location around a small protected harbor.

Named Port Stanley (now Puerto Argentino under the Argentines), it became the only town and capital, squeezing in 1,000 of the Islands' 2,500 residents into its rows of red-tile roofed houses that were reminiscent of a 19th Century Scottish sailing village. Heat was provided by burning peat gathered from nearby bogs.

Portraits of the royal family adorned most interior walls, and placards proclaiming "God Save Our Queen" and "Keep the Falklands British" were prominent in frontroom windows.

The Falkland Islands government—a combination of the locally elected council and the UK-appointed governor, career foreign service diplomat Rex Hunt—was located in the capitol. So was the Falkland Islands Company (FIC), the Islands' dominant economic force. There was no unemployment.

Of course, the capitol had its problems. Because cultural activities were lacking teenagers tended to release energy in fits of vandalism. There were few single women, so young men habitually drowned their sorrows and frustrations in the five busy pubs. Alcoholism had long been a concern.

But the primary source of internal dissension was the smoldering animosity the Kelpers felt toward the imported British administrators and skilled technicians. Under a program called the Overseas Service Aid Scheme, UK citizens received almost twice the salary a native Islander got for the same job. The program created resentment between the two groups, and led to a feeling of class distinction on the part of the Kelpers.

Outside of Port Stanley there was less dissension, yet the sheep ranchers had their own troubles. Their ranches covered 99 percent of the land surface, which is called Camp. While Port Stanley residents occasionally disparaged Camp life as lonely and dull, everyone knew where the wool, and thus the primary revenue, was produced.

"They have their secure government and FIC jobs," said farm owner David Barton, "but if we in Camp pack up, they're finished." Actually, before the invasion, many of the young workers

had been packing up. Apart from the beauty and serenity of the barren, grassy hills, there isn't much to keep them here. Settlements are many miles apart, and the feudal-like social structure in Camp leaves little room for ambition.

The owners, or managers, are lords of the land who double as justices of the peace with power to baptize and wed. Most serve as financial and tax advisors to their employees and run company stores where workers buy on credit. In fact, salaries are usually handled through a credit account with the owner, thus depriving employees of potential bank interest.

Although most employees expressed satisfaction in the security of this arrangement, the almost total dependence on the country squire management—combined with the unlikelihood of buying into the closed circle of owners—aggravated the Islands' emigration and social problems.

—J.H. Evans and Jack Epstein



# Salvador

Continued from page 3

squads reputedly linked to d'Aubuisson.

At the other pole is the executive power arrayed around Magana—assuming he is approved—and composed of the Christian Democrats, the army and the U.S.

According to a Salvadoran political source, the Magana package imposed by army leaders will include a cabinet in which the army and Magana control the key Defense, Interior and Finance ministries; the Christian Democrats, the Agriculture, Foreign Affairs and other ministries; and ARENA and the rightists relegated to minor ministries.

The scenario is full of pitfalls, not the least of which is the unlikelihood that the Constituent Assembly will draw up an acceptable constitution and rules for new elections. But the plan has major strengths because of Magana's credentials: It holds out the possibility of U.S. congressional approval and promises to provide enough stability for the upcoming army offensive against the rebels.

According to a former Salvadoran official who has known Magana for more than two decades, Magana is potentially a strong leader. "He has a long record [of government service] but not a public record," the source said. As president of the Mortgage Bank—which not incidentally is a major provider of personal loans to military officers—Magana has

been a trusted advisor to the last four Salvadoran presidents, according to the source. Although his primary loyalty is to his longtime military clients, followed by a *realpolitik* understanding of the need for obedience to the U.S., Magana has worked to introduce financial and monetary reforms to strengthen the state role in the economy and promote social programs, said his associate, who is now a sympathizer with the leftist Democratic Revolutionary Front.

The emerging division between the Constituent Assembly and an army-U.S. controlled executive branch will, in effect, isolate the Salvadoran extreme right in the legislature and exclude it from day-to-day running of the war and the economy. But in any case, the elections meant a major re-entry to the mainstream of power to the displaced Salvadoran right. In the Assembly's first session, d'Aubuisson attempted to maximize his power by passing decrees limiting the president's power and making all cabinet appointments subject to Assembly approval.

D'Aubuisson continued to hope he could head off the fragile PCN agreement to support Magana as provisional president, delaying for several days the Assembly session at which the new president was scheduled to be elected.

## A temporary arrangement.

At best, the new Salvadoran government is a temporary arrangement that could break down over obstructionist laws passed by d'Aubuisson's Assembly. It was seen, according to reports from El

Salvador, as superior to an outright coup, which was constantly rumored during the weeks of futile negotiations by the parties.

The Magana government will certainly last for several months, the time needed for the army to carry out a major offensive planned since last January when rebel forces threatened with major strikes to gain the upper hand. During that time, 1,600 Salvadoran troops and officers will return to combat duty from training in the U.S. It is hoped that the new troops will turn the tide of the war, based on the experience of the U.S.-trained Atlacatl Brigade. The performance of Atlacatl over the past year far surpassed that of regular Salvadoran troops, but they were seen as lacking the numerical strength to win the war.

Therefore, the Salvadoran elections remain a sideshow to the main event: The military struggle between the leftist front and the U.S.-supplied armed forces. More than a mandate for this or that candidate, the massive election turnout seemed to reflect the average Salvadoran's yearning for a peaceful end to that conflict and to the two-year-old national blood letting that has claimed over 30,000 lives.

But the election results make a peacefully negotiated settlement more remote than before. Politically, the new actors brought to centerstage by the elections, with the possible exception of Magana, are rightists who adamantly oppose rapprochement with the left. Rather than strengthening the Salvadoran center, as advertised, the elections restored poli-

tical legitimacy to rightist fanatics, such as d'Aubuisson, beyond whom no one is farther right.

But U.S. aid will continue, as Ambassador Hinton said, "No matter what government is chosen...."

That much is perfectly clear, an ARENA activist told the *New York Times* last week, for, "the U.S. has never cut off its aid anywhere for very long or even entirely. Reagan will never let the communists win here. It's a complete bluff."

John Dinges is an associate editor of *Pacific News Service*.

# Falwell

Continued from page 6

deficit was in fact no big deal, that late summer was always a slow time for fundraising. And he explained to *In These Times* that most of the layoffs were part of a transition to a larger, more efficient computer system, which now electronically handles donations much faster than the displaced employees did by hand.

This steady growth in income also explains why the frequent buffoonery of local "leaders" has not appreciably hurt the organization. The building of strong local groups does not appear to be a priority for Falwell.

Similarly with Washington: To judge by his record, Falwell is much more interested in keeping the pot stirred, and thus the money rolling in, than he is in actually becoming proficient in the time-consuming, expensive and mostly unglamorous work of effective lobbying. Most of the money goes into what are little more than monuments to himself: brick and mortar at the fast-growing Liberty Baptist College and various extrusions of the Thomas Road Baptist Church (reported to be the second largest congregation in the nation).

Of course, none of the above examples suggest that Falwell and MM are completely free of money worries and can be indifferent to public issues.

Clearly, the current recession is on the minds of Falwell and his executives. No doubt this is why MM's projections for this year are built on an expected increase in income of only \$1 million.

In hard times, fundraisers like Falwell have to bear down on the themes that evoke the strongest emotional (and hence financial) responses in their audiences. And so what did Falwell place at the top of his priority list in a recent letter? Money may be tight, "But I have one project that I believe we cannot delay! This is a project to investigate, document and expose the gay conspirators whose goal it is to completely legitimize homosexuality in America in the very near future—in fact, during 1982."

He went on to say he is preparing a report that will detail this grand plot "to win over our children and to destroy respect and support for the traditional American family." In addition, a series of articles is planned for his 900,000-plus circulation *Moral Majority Report*, which will provide a "carefully documented expose of the gay conspiracy."

Will this strategy of boring in on the fundamentalists' deepest phobias pay off again? Right now, it looks like it will pull the Moral Majority through the recession in fine style. In fact, the economy may hold even brighter prospects for the group, if a prediction by pollster Daniel Yankelovich comes true.

Last November in *Psychology Today*, Yankelovich predicted that the group would soon slide to the harmless margins of society, unless two things happened: It gained a corner on the public sense of concern over the moral welfare of American youth; and a deep and prolonged economic setback ultimately strengthened support for MM because "not far below the surface of Americans' consciousness there lingers the conviction that today's inflation and other economic ills can be traced to the nation's moral looseness."

Chuck Fager is a Washington, D.C.-based journalist who writes for several alternative news publications.

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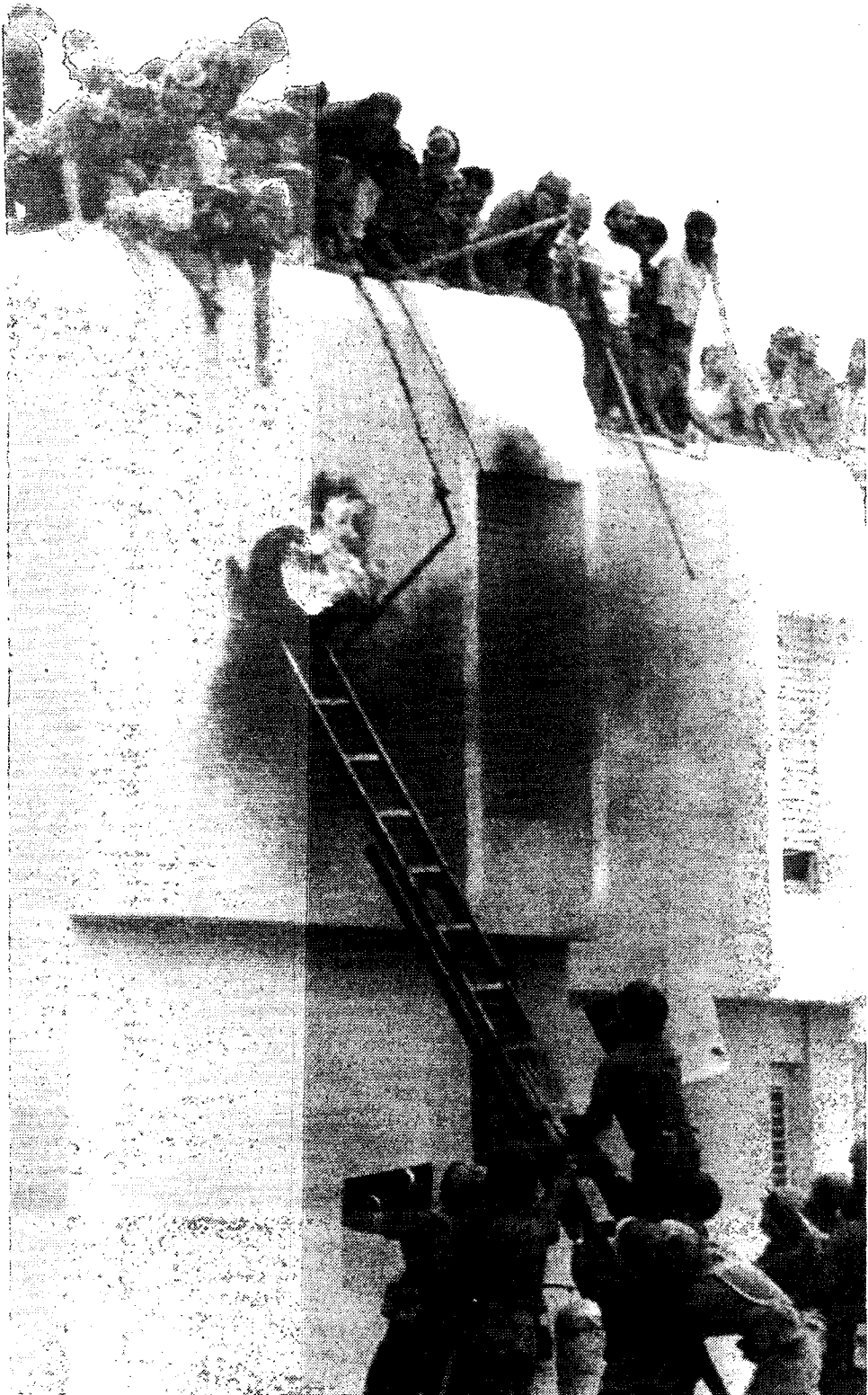
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## ISRAEL



The left was surprised by how the "defiance of the army" was handled in Yamit.

# Return of the Sinai may mean more support for Begin

By David Mandel

JERUSALEM

ISRAEL'S EXTREME RIGHT FAILED to attract anywhere near the tens of thousands it predicted would show up to physically oppose the April 25 return of Sinai to Egypt. Thus, the final confrontations and withdrawals were actually anti-climactic.

Now Israelis of all sides are ready to join hands in the coming battle to prevent any more territorial concessions, step-up settlement in the West Bank, strike at the PLO in Lebanon and, if possible, maintain the alliance with the U.S. and at least some semblance of peace and normal relations with Egypt.

Clearly, the task will not be easy now that Sinai has been returned and the world is less sensitive about stepping on Israel's toes. But at least for a while, Prime Minister Menachem Begin will enjoy unprecedented support at home.

On the one side, those who support peace with Egypt cannot complain. Israel honored its commitment to withdraw, and this will be remembered long after the last-minute attempt to ring concessions from Cairo—in which the 2,000 or so militants who still occupied Yamit

played an important role—is forgotten. Of course in the end, nothing of substance came out of the final bargaining; only a considerable erosion of good will between the two sides and some rather anachronistic-sounding reiterations about "continued commitment to Palestinian autonomy in the framework of Camp David"—the historic 1978 summit that now means extremely different things to its participants.

On the other side, the anti-withdrawal forces only suffered "defeat" with honor. While several hundred of the most militant squatters did use sandbags, burning tires and staves against the soldiers assigned to remove them, officials and generals heaped praise on the squatters' leaders, crediting them for the lack of bloodshed and calling them "good Zionists."

After the fact, one Israeli TV reporter charged—off the record—that the final battle was to a large extent staged by both sides. In any case, most of the domestic and international media dutifully followed the melodramatic script, attributing the tears that were shed to a double trauma: "the abandonment of home" and the confrontation between a "people's army" and part of the people.

Closer to home, Palestinians in the other occupied territories, where bullets are now routinely used against rowdy demonstrators, must have gotten a kick out of seeing the unarmed soldiers slug it out with the rooftop brigades. Many of them are regularly involved in policing Arabs near settlements in the West Bank, to which they will now return. (Even ultra-rightist Meir Kahane was seen serving a stint of reserved duty recently in Ramallah. Afterwards, he boasted of employing more than the usual measure of force to prevent local youths from assembling.)

And in Israel itself, left opponents of the government, on becoming accustomed to tear gas and clubs within minutes after the start of any attempt to demonstrate in the territories against the occupation, were struck by how "defiance of the army" was handled in Yamit.

In the end, the government held firm. The squatters were thrown out and Yamit bulldozed. The "monster" that some doves were afraid had been created was tamed, perhaps only because it turned out to be less powerful than expected. But for this, credit cannot go to the army or its masters. Although northern Sinai was officially closed in mid-March, anyone who wanted to could "sneak" through army lines. Some settlers were evicted as many as five times, simply returning after each episode.

After an April 1 withdrawal deadline passed, Defense Minister Ariel Sharon and other cabinet members suddenly cited "Egyptian violations" of the treaty, and for a few days in mid-April there was serious talk of delaying the pull-out. U.S. pressure deterred the less adventurous majority in the Israeli government, and the masses of citizens stayed away from Yamit, choosing instead to believe in the possibility of peace.

With the public carefully "traumatized" by the Sinai withdrawal, Begin—domestically speaking—is now in a position to resist any other concessions. In his April 25 order of the day, Defense Minister Sharon stated bluntly that Israel has reached its limits, and that it must now try to increase settlements in the West Bank, Gaza and the Golan Heights. On the day of the withdrawal, the cabinet committee approved five new West Bank settlements and two for the Golan.

The right-wing opposition, its valiant defense of the Sinai completed, is ready to join the settlement efforts and is widely expected to soon enter Begin's coalition. If Begin manipulates events carefully, the prime minister may even gamble on early elections to increase his majority and lessen the government's dependence on three religious parties, one of whose leaders has just been convicted of fraud and larceny.

The policymakers in Washington, Cairo and European capitols no longer have to worry about jeopardizing the Sinai withdrawal if they tread on Israel's toes. Jerusalem may settle into a period of fewer "surprises" compared to last spring's intervention against Syria in Lebanon, the Iraq nuclear plant raid in June, the massive Beirut bombing in July, December's annexation of the Golan Heights, the ousting of elected West Bank mayors in March and the latest

## The left peace camp fears that Egypt will turn against Israel.

bombing raid against Palestinian camps only five days before the withdrawal. Even the PLO, for all its opposition to the Egyptian-Israeli peace process, was careful not to be provoked into a situation in which the Sinai withdrawal might have been cancelled.

But while aggressive Israeli initiatives might lessen in the near future, serious diplomatic pressure for a solution to the Palestinian problem probably will materialize from many quarters. And it will be accompanied by stepped-up military

pressure from the PLO. Of course, the Begin government will resist both types of pressure. So this could lead to renewed tension and conflict, which could deteriorate into war.

Egypt will play a significant role in this type of scenario. Outright belligerence toward Israel is unlikely as long as the Jewish state continues to enjoy U.S. backing. Cairo is not looking for a war, and it would be extremely hesitant to again risk losing Sinai—the one accomplishment it has to show against the Arab world's opposition to the Camp David pact.

But neither is it realistic to expect Egypt—especially after the death of Anwar Sadat—to perpetuate its isolation from fellow Arab states, most of all the rich ones that share Cairo's pro-American outlook. Therefore, the slow reconciliation that has already begun with Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Iraq, Jordan and even the PLO will probably continue. And it is hard to see how this could not occur at Israel's expense.

## The Palestinian problem will keep diplomatic relations tense.

Herein lies the basis for a major Israeli letdown: Those who opposed the withdrawal, plus many others who could easily join them retroactively, could self-righteously proclaim "we told you so." The vast majority who naively believed that Egypt could be induced to divorce itself from the Arab world for the sake of peace with Israel would be tongue-tied. Continued hostility from other directions could feed Israeli's fears, and disillusionment could lead to even stronger resistance to any reasonable peace proposal.

This is the danger seen by opponents of the Camp David process from the other side of the Israeli political spectrum—the left peace camp. Ironically, in the recent national debate they shared the anti-withdrawal movement's view that "peace" with Egypt alone cannot last. Of course, their conclusions were diametrically opposed, to the die-hards who advised trusting in God and standing firm on all fronts. The left advocates a comprehensive peace program—withdrawal from all the occupied territories, recognition of the PLO and the Palestinian's right to set up their own state next to Israel. The peace forces that back such a plan are small in number.

For nearly a decade, there have been signs that the U.S. might throw its weight behind peace proposals that could satisfy both Israeli and Palestinian basic demands. But this has not happened, and lately the Reagan administration seems less inclined to press Israel than any of its predecessors, and is more anxious to sell expensive weapon systems to any buyer.

In any historical process there are opposing forces at work. The Palestinians could break through the Israeli paranoia with a dramatic peace offensive of their own. Or they, together with other leftist forces in the region, could put together such a threat to U.S. interests that Washington would have to accommodate Palestinian nationalism into its strategy instead of backing Israel's repression of it. Alternatively, if the world recession deepens, Israel's economy could sink to the point where the government could not continue occupation amid popular demands for jobs, housing and income maintenance.

But this scenario is not likely. The PLO, suffering from more than its usual share of internal dispute, is maintaining a precarious existence in Lebanon with rightist Christian allies and a jealous Syria. The world oil glut and inter-Arab conflicts are working to Israel's advantage. The U.S. is hardly slapping Begin's wrists anymore over West Bank clampdowns or air raids in Lebanon. And, for the time being, Egypt has been separated from the rest of the Arab world. ■



The freeze  
comes  
to Reagan country.

# GROUND

WASHINGTON, N.C.

**T**HERE ARE 27 WASHINGTONS in the U.S., but Washington, North Carolina, a sleepy coastal town founded in 1771, claims to be the oldest. It is also one of the most politically conservative.

Confederate flags, reminders of the war between the states, still adorn restaurants and stores. The head of its Chamber of Commerce boasts that Washington is "union-free." The most prominent black in town is the undertaker. In 1980, with five-to-one Democratic registration, Washington went easily for Ronald Reagan.

But during "Ground Zero Week," called nationally April 18-25 to educate citizens about the nuclear war threat, Washington, N.C., had more events scheduled than Washington, D.C. Nightly events included a prayer service with Washington's clergy, a lecture on the medical consequences of nuclear war, daily film showings in Washington's shopping mall and speeches by the mayor, members of the City Council and the head of the area's civil defense.

The events in Washington attracted only a handful of citizens—about 50 in all. But in a town of 9,000, whose citizens are suspicious of "causes," attendance was sufficiently noteworthy to merit stories in the *Washington Daily News*. Colonel David Spivey, the area's civil defense coordinator, remarked, "I am amazed that there were as many people as there were at those meetings."

The events in Washington and in nearby Greenville, the home of East Carolina University (ECU), indicated some change of sentiment among a populace inclined to cheer the most far-reaching designs of the American military. But this change would not have registered publicly if Richard Welch, a 53-year-old former small businessman, had not moved to Washington four years ago.

The Rev. C.H. Mulholland, Washington's only Catholic priest and a member of Greenville's minuscule Peace Committee since the mid-'60s, acknowledged Welch's feat. "He's done more in eight months than we've done in 15 years," Mulholland said.

## Fear of death.

Welch's hair is grey and deep lines etch his regular features and strong jaw. But when he speaks in public, even of the dangers of nuclear war, he exudes the boyish enthusiasm of the committed organizer.

Welch is typical of many organizers in the environmental and antinuclear movements. He is not a scarred veteran of past left-wing battles and defeats. Indeed, he voted for Ronald Reagan in 1980. His commitment is more religious and moral than political. He speaks the same language as the people he wants to reach and he expects to win them over, from

# ZERO

the county school superintendent to Senator Jesse Helms.

For 20 years Welch, father of 11, was a successful Washington, D.C., plumbing and heating contractor. But in his 30s he became an alcoholic. He finally turned to Alcoholics Anonymous, which helped him quit drinking and forced him to look critically at his own life. "I had as much of material things as I needed to see that they weren't doing the job," he said, sitting in his kitchen.

Four years ago, Welch and his family moved to North Carolina. They bought a house with a stream running in back where geese and ducks swim. Welch worked part-time for a real estate firm and volunteered in a rehabilitation program for prisoners and alcoholics. His wife Marie worked as a nurse.

In 1980, Welch voted for Reagan. "I thought we needed a smaller bureaucracy, and I thought he would do it," Welch said. "I didn't think in terms of the war thing at all."

Welch became alarmed about nuclear war when he read about the administration's idea of a limited nuclear war. "I had no idea that we had nuclear artillery shells," Welch said. "There was this talk about deploying them, and how we could use them without conventional war escalating into nuclear war." Welch began to believe that Reagan might cause a nuclear war.

Three times Welch had the same dream:

"I am in an auditorium or assembly. We're having a social evening together. It's man's culture at its highest. Then something interrupts this, and we're called—I'm one of the first to go up and look out on a porch or a veranda. It's dusk and we realize that a nuclear attack is coming.

"At first, there is panic. But for me it's a great test of whether I've internalized my fear of death. I say, 'go up there and let's look at it. There's nothing to be afraid of.' I feel good because a group starts to assemble around me. There is fear around me, but I don't feel fear. And then the dream ends."

For Welch, a Catholic who has become interested in Eastern theories of reincarnation, organizing against the threat of nuclear war is a way to confront fear of death. "Facing death is the big question," he said.

Welch spent last summer in Washing-



Article and photo

# THE

public officials backed off. Hunt, who has already been cast by Helms' backers as a potential Kennedy running mate in 1984, told Welch that he couldn't provide leadership to or get involved publicly in the nuclear war issue. Jones and Helms, as well as Hunt, suddenly found their schedules filled up April 18-25.

Welch also encountered some local resistance. Ashley Futrell, the *Washington Daily News'* long-time editor, attacked the local ministers for taking political stands. At Welch's instigation, the ministers fired back an angry letter that was published in the *News*. Local civil defense officials shunted Welch back and forth from Raleigh to Washington rather than commit themselves to participating in Ground Zero Week. The state's newly appointed Secretary of Crime and Public Safety admitted to Welch that his predecessor had only given him a cursory briefing on civil defense. If a nuclear war comes, he had said, "you can kiss your ass goodbye."

But finally Colonel Spivey, the local director, agreed to appear at a Ground Zero meeting.

## On the fence.

Washington's civil leaders seem to believe that any arms control proposal amounts to a call for unilateral disarmament. As Welch had put it, they see the peace sign as the foot of a chicken. But Welch's one-man campaign and Reagan's arm buildup and loose talk of limited war have planted some doubts in their minds.

The *Washington Daily News'* Futrell was clearly ambivalent about Ground Zero. "I think it's fine to saturate people's thinking with the dangers of nuclear attack," Futrell said to *In These Times*. "But the danger I see is that don't want to see us be helpless ... Russia being too powerful."

Futrell expressed some reservations however, about Reagan's reluctance to negotiate with the Soviets. "My own feeling is that the Reagan administration is slower than I would like to see. I think Reagan and Brezhnev should sit down together. They should be locked up in a room, and it should only be unlocked when they've reached an agreement," Futrell said.

Chamber of Commerce head William Abeyounis expressed similar misgivings about Ground Zero. "I'm a proponent of peace and justice. I don't even like fistfight," Abeyounis said in an interview in his storefront headquarters. "But don't know whether you compromise your position among the nations of the

# AT

ton, D.C., learning about the threat of nuclear war in discussions with the staff of the Center for Defense Information and the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy. When Welch returned home, he could talk about counterforce or nuclear war's threat to the ozone layer.

He had also decided what the main obstacle to peace was. "If we got rid of every nuclear weapon and our attitude remains the same toward the Russians, we'd be in the same trouble," he said. "It's not the weapons, it's the attitudes. We think the Russians are out to destroy us, and nothing else will suffice—we must be stronger than them."

"I see that Nixon turned our attitude toward China around. That's the hope that our attitude toward the Russians can be turned around, too."

Last winter Welch began organizing Ground Zero Week in Washington and Greenville. He liked the idea of a purely educational week of activity—not linked to a partisan view of military strategy or spending—because it allowed him to appeal to conservatives as well as the area's few liberals. Soon, Welch had cut down on his real estate job, and had sold his boat so that he could afford to devote all his time to Ground Zero.

Welch found support from the area's ministers, some administrators and professors at ECU, Beaufort County's Superintendent of Schools, staff members at North Carolina's Health Systems Agency and the local Boy Scout leader. Through assiduous lobbying, Welch also received tentative commitments to speak during Ground Zero Week from Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.), Rep. Walter Jones (D-N.C.) and Gov. James Hunt. Hunt, who plans to run for Senate against Helms in 1984, responded to Welch's letter with a state proclamation declaring April 18-25 Ground Zero Week and an invitation to Welch and his fellow organizers to meet with him in Raleigh.

But as the nuclear threat became a partisan issue nationally—with the announcement of the Kennedy-Hatfield plan for a nuclear weapons freeze—the



# GRASS

world by dumping your weapons in the Atlantic and saying, 'Come on you good guys, join with us.'"

But Abeyounis admitted that business support for Reagan's military spending had lessened because of the cuts in local economic development programs. "Most people feel that defense spending could be reduced," Abeyounis said.

Civil Defense administrator Colonel Spivey, seated in his windowless basement office, made the same obligatory references to military toughness. "Most Americans feel we have turned the other cheek over and over again since World War II—ever since then, we've been backing down," the greying crewcut Spivey said. "You can't continue to let every bully do what he wants."

But he admitted to doubts about the Reagan administration's military strategy. "I'm definitely worried about how the military mind works. I never felt our country could start a nuclear war, but there are certainly insinuations now," Spivey said.

"My personal opinion is that there is no such thing as a little bit of a nuclear war. It's just like being a little bit pregnant," he said.

## Wet T-shirts.

Welch also organized nightly events at East Carolina University, where he had more success in recruiting professors and administrators than students. One dean, John Gardner, even decided to take a leave of absence to work with Welch.

According to one local observer, ECU students are far more interested in wet T-shirt contests than in any kind of politics. There is a small student organization that protests American intervention in El Salvador and the arms race. Its leader is Patrick O'Neill, a New Yorker who came to ECU partly to stir up the South against the war machine and recently dropped out of school.

The 10 or 15 students who attended the film showings and lectures were, like Welch, a mixture of morality, religion and politics. Where Welch's more arcane religious notions resembled '50s excursions into Zen Buddhism or the *Bhagavad-Gita*, the anti-war students' beliefs were drawn from the late '60s counter-culture.

After one film showing the students, professors and administrators got into a discussion on how to end the arms race. The students argued that human nature itself was the problem. Jay Stone, a 23-year-old sophomore, said, "I don't see any way to end the arms race without fundamentally altering human nature. It might be through the human potential and the holistic health movement."

Stone later explained to me that "holistic health is sort of like the evolved hippie movement. All the consciousness raising things that came out of the '60s became manifested in sounder approaches."

Randy Alley, a senior whose father is Hunt's main lobbyist in Raleigh, said, "I think spiritual energies can change the world at large. Once you realize your oneness with other things, how can you hurt them?"

**Disappointed, not discouraged.** Welch had expected a larger turnout at the Ground Zero events. When only seven people showed up the first night to watch an inaudible atrocity film about Hiroshima and Nagasaki and hear pon-

# ROOTS

derous slide-show lectures on the economic and the medical consequences of nuclear war, he was clearly disappointed. But when four times as many people showed up the next evening for a religious service devoted to nuclear war, Welch was encouraged.

The most important reason for the lack of turnout was probably the political inclinations of the citizens. Edna Sprull, Colonel Spivey's secretary, who attended the religious service, explained why others hadn't come. "People in this town don't care much about causes. And they say this one is non-partisan, but the leaders are all for disarmament," she said.

The other reason was the inexperience of the organizers. It was no accident that far more showed up for a religious service than for a lecture and film. Shoppers in Washington's mall steered clear of grainy shots of maimed bomb victims.

Welch's greatest success came before Ground Zero rather than during it. He won over the *Daily News'* main reporter, who not only covered Ground Zero, but began to insert national news stories on military policy into the *Daily News*. He united the town's ministers. He brought the area's liberals out of their respective closets, and he forced the civic leaders to consider the danger of Reagan's policies.

The only curious absence from any Ground Zero meetings was that of the town's blacks. Washington is perhaps best known as the town in which Joanne Little was imprisoned, and more than a quarter of its residents are black. Welch speculated that the town's blacks still had to worry too much about racial discrimination to be concerned about nuclear war. "The peace movement is a luxury," he said.

Larry Williams, a black graduate student in political science at ECU, gave a similar explanation. "When you have a group of people who are economically deprived, who have to worry about the next meal, they don't have time to worry about other things," he said.

## Out on a limb.

Welch's next step will be to organize Groundswell, a foundation that will fund and help initiate antinuclear war projects in North Carolina. John Gardner will work with Welch on it. Welch hopes to raise his own salary through it, but in the meantime he is relying on Marie Welch's overtime income, and the Welches have decided to forego their yearly summer vacation.

Welch approaches his new life as a political organizer with a sense of adventure. But he is uneasy about some of the rapid changes in his thinking. When he learned that I worked for a paper that identified itself as socialist, he said, "We have to talk about this socialist thing."



Welch is drawn toward a socialist analysis of society, but he fears that being identified as a socialist will completely isolate him politically. "I have a strong feeling that if I was a member of a socialist party, no one would listen to what I say about nuclear war," Welch said. "But deep down I see the limitations of capitalism and where it's going. There's no way it can thrive except by expanding and gobbling things up. But we've run out of things to expand into. I see it all falling apart in the next five years."

According to Welch, most North Carolinians identify socialism with Communist Workers Party desperados or Brezh-

nev rather than Francois Mitterrand or Olaf Palme. Welch would probably fare better going public with his views on reincarnation than with his misgivings about the American economic system.

Will Welch move too fast for his surroundings? He admits he sometimes thinks about returning to the other Washington, where he would find more politically congenial company. But when Welch drives down Route 17, Washington, N.C.'s main highway and sees the Family Fish House billboard heralding Ground Zero Week, it is hard not to feel that he has accomplished much in this little town and could still do more. ■



# LETTERS

*IN THESE TIMES* is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

## CROCODILE TEARS

MICHAEL HOYT IS WORRIED ABOUT the possible demise of the New York Daily News (ITT, April 7). I certainly sympathize with the 4,000 workers who would lose their jobs if the paper folds, but is it "the people's paper" as Mr. Hoyt asserts? True, lots of people, and working people read it, but I always found the News an anti-union, pro-business, racist, reactionary right-wing rag. These days it seems a little better, in comparison to the gutter journalist of the New York Post, but when Mr. Hoyt quotes approvingly that the News' survival is "fundamental to democracy," I must demur. If I was working at the News I'd fight like hell to save my job, but otherwise I won't shed any tears if the paper dies. In fact...who will?

—Paul Leavin  
New York, N.Y.

## BREAKTHROUGH

DANIEL NEWMAN'S REVIEW WAS too easy a one (ITT, April 14). The Metropolitan's exhibition represents an important breakthrough. The art of the third world has been placed—without apology—in the setting of the world's greatest art. No palm fronds, no photos of strange lands to distract you. The old battle whether this is art or anthropology can be answered either way: crosstown at the Museum of Natural History is one answer, superlatively done. The Met chooses to let us see what Picasso, Brancusi, Moore, Calder, Lipchitz and Ernst saw: superlative art. This is the Met's business. Ours is to remember the cost: greed, blood, imperialism. Let us not forget it. But it is an important accomplishment to let the power of Dogon masks, Peruvian pots, New Guinea bis poles, the highest level of achievement, we are all one species, capable of drawing equally high inspiration from the world of form, motion and color. What a

lesson. What a show. Go if you have a chance—a breakthrough.

—Allan C. Goldstein  
New York, N.Y.

*Daniel Newman replies: If Allan Goldstein did not exist, the Rockefeller wing would create him. They need his educated ignorance to see art as pure form. He is their ideal visitor, willing to park his sentimentalized anti-imperialism outside the museum. Do not bother him with social contexts or information, which he reduces to palm fronds and "photos of strange lands." Goldstein takes comfort in knowing that anthropology has a separate place across Central Park. He is equally happy that the primitive things there are also "superlatively done." On Central Park West and 5th Avenue, things are always done in good taste.*

Goldstein has swallowed whole the bourgeois notion that art is about art. He seems flattered that "the Met chose to let us see" primitive art through modern artists' eyes. He romanticizes the alienated artists as seers, failing to understand how such moderns as Picasso and Ernst misread primitive art. His politics seem grounded in one-world sentiments of the early '40s. How else to explain such a simplistic statement as "We are all one species, capable of drawing equally high inspiration from the world of form, motion and color?"

If Goldstein wants to let the Met do business as usual and feels upset by anything less than rave reviews, he should realize that even such mass-media critics as Hilton Kramer in the New York Times and Robert Hughes in Time magazine shared some dismay at the Met's mystifying display. On only one matter Goldstein was right—go and see it. But think critically.

## BITTER RED THAN DEAD

SINCE MY COVER IS NOW BLOWN, I might as well confess to the charge

by Harry Sheer (ITT, April 7) that I am a CIA operative. (Hell, we have the CIA so riddled that we hold our cell meetings under a banner proclaiming "Commies In Action.")

I do, however, wish that Sheer would make up his mind. I guess I'm not one of the "ex-Communists, not embittered ones." But am I one of the "embittered ex-Communists" or one of "these former embittered Communists"?

Oh well, bitter red than dead.

—Lester Rodney  
Torrance, Calif.

## FRESH AIR

I HAVE BEEN ENJOYING YOUR PAPER for some time now. I especially like your coverage on Latin America. Very few reports that I have read consistently match what I myself witnessed during my work there as a lay-volunteer for the Catholic Church in Central America. I'd like you to know that you are always among those few. Also your coverage of the DSOC-NAM merger has been very informative and your critique well-done.

All in all *In These Times* makes for a breath of fresh air in an otherwise stale world of establishment dominated media. I hope you will continue your good work.

—Frank M. Klein  
Mount Prospect, Ill.

## NAME CHANGE ALERT

THROUGH LONG HARD EXPERIENCE we all have come to learn the importance of publicizing the activities of anti-progressive forces in the U.S. One such activity currently underway involves the change of name by the U.S. Labor Party. These people are again about their typical business of infiltrating and destroying progressive and grassroots organizations. They are now calling themselves the National Democratic Policy Committee. (Perhaps you've seen them at airports selling anti-anti-nuke, anti-Jane Fonda literature.)

It is not difficult to characterize this group. But the words you have to use in doing so are as strange as the group itself. As the U.S. Labor Party, they spied on the anti-nuke and other movements and gave (usually made up or otherwise falsified) information to the FBI and the state police of many states. As the National Caucus of Labor Committees, they tried to "mop up" (kill members of) the dottering U.S. Communist Party. As *Fusion Magazine*, they appeal strictly to corporate America to send them money, co-sponsor loans to their front groups and support nuclear fusion (as bad as nuclear fission) as a viable energy alternative. The group once proclaimed that they were marxist and were laughed at. Now, they privately proclaim fascism, and publicly attack every left group in any way they can.

As the National Democratic Policy Committee they are going for an "America First" jingoism: kick the Brits out of NATO and reinvoke the U.S. Monroe Doctrine of intervening in the internal affairs of any nation in the western hemisphere. They are trying to lobby Congress and people without telling who they really are.

—F. Friedman  
Chicago, Ill.

## TAX REFORM: A FALSE ISSUE

IN RESPONSE TO THE "PERSPECTIVES" article by Cockburn and Ridgeway (ITT, April 7), and some other articles I have encountered in *In These Times* in recent months, I wish to make some critical comments. I feel that far too much is expected of corporate or income tax reform, and that no significant change in who funds America would result if such reform took place. The left would do better to point out the futility of the issue of tax burden transfer than to take sides on it.

Assume a capitalist owns the corner grocery store and draws a certain annual profit, with which he doesn't wish to part, and and that a corporate tax is levied against all such businesses. When the capitalist sees the tax increase coming his way, he will raise consumer prices accordingly. When tax time comes around he will take the excess profit generated by price increases and present it to the government as his taxes. He certainly won't pay them out of the profit margin that he depends on and settle with less income for himself.

The same argument is true in the case of income tax. When the capitalist sees a "personal" income tax coming his way, he will raise prices accordingly, and pass some of the excess profit on to the government as his own taxes. Who really paid the tax in either case? The working consumer paid the capitalist's taxes for him, although they were probably thought of as inflation, rather than taxes.

Cockburn and Ridgeway state that "there are only two groups who fund America: people, and the corporations that employ them. If corporations don't pay taxes, people make up the difference." This is exactly how the capitalists, both liberal and conservative, both Democrat and Republican, want us to conceive of the problem. This is the way that Reagans will pave the way for Kennedys and Kennedys will pave the way for future Reagans, and the burden of funding America will remain, exclusively, on the working class.

Tax reform will remain another false issue until profit rates themselves are controlled, or preferably eliminated. What's socialism about anyway?

—Dave McKee  
Port Angeles, Wash.

## A SOCIALIST TO THE END

THIS IS REGARDING MONEY FOR ITT and an article you wrote about *Appeal to Reason* last August.

Around the turn of the century, a judge in Laramie, Wyo., gave my father and several other young men subscriptions to the *Appeal to Reason*. Wondering how the paper's perspective was being received, he asked one of the beneficiaries, who responded that the paper made good toilet paper.

The judge indicated that then "he probably had more brains in his ass than he did in his head." (Is that where the phrase "smart ass" originated?) My father was somewhat more favorably impressed, became a socialist, ran for office in Nevada on the Socialist ticket a couple times, and must have pinned some "red diapers" on me. End of story. Check enclosed.

—Max K. Richie  
Auberry, Calif.

## LONG SHOT

WILLIAM BURR'S "LONG SHOT" (ITT, March 24) misses the mark when he refers to people working toward a nuclear weapons freeze as "they." It is that attitude that has led us for over 35 years to the edge of the abyss where we now stand. Can we really wait for "them" to lead us out? No. We must all lead.

—Steve Juniper  
McKinleyville, Calif.

## UPCOMING...

A note to our readers: We've received many letters about the recent *In These Times* coverage of the Democratic Socialists of America merger. They will soon appear in a special letters section.

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

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# PERSPECTIVES

## Student protesters hit the Hill

By Barbara Presley Noble

**O**N THE HEELS OF REAGAN's proposal of 56 percent cuts in student aid, the president of an eastern college warned that Reagan wants to indenture the next generation of students. A group in Florida sent Congress a thousand lemons for approving last year's cuts. And a caravan has left the beaches of San Diego, driven by university students with sacks of letters of protest for Capitol Hill and the White House.

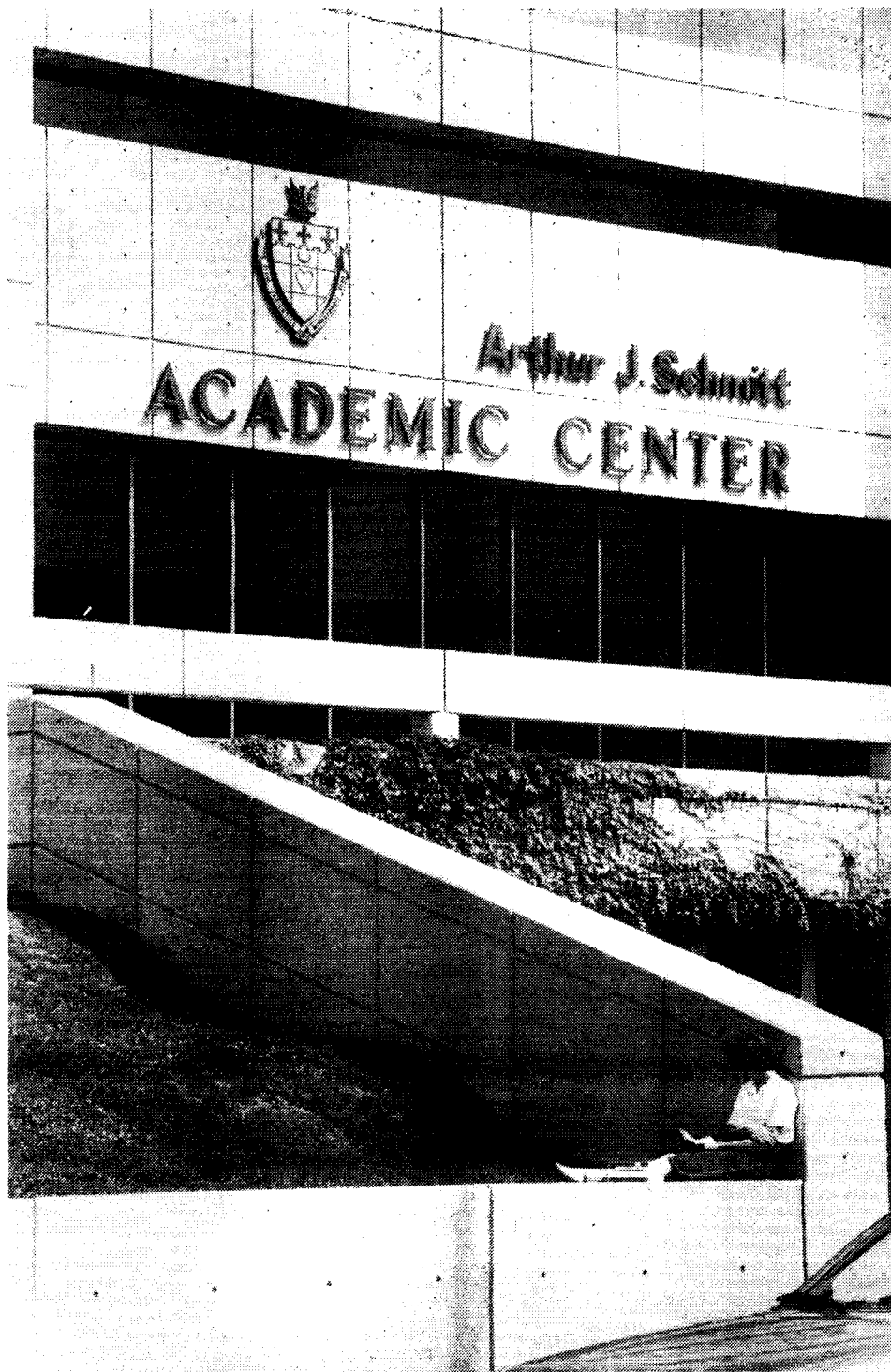
Reagan has never had a warm relationship with either students or educators. As governor of California in the late '60s he once ordered troops onto a university campus saying, "If there is to be a bloodbath, let it begin now." But where Reagan was once able to run roughshod over campus "militants," student protesters today may not make it so easy for him.

Campus-based left groups are looking toward Washington and learning the strategies of electoral politics. They are part of a broad coalition of student organizations that has already won a vote in the House Appropriations Committee to reject the Reagan proposal for fiscal year 1982-83 and to add \$1.5 billion in emergency funds for the current year. By the November elections, organizers hope to parlay some of the public fury generated by the proposed \$2.2 billion reduction in educational grants, loans and work programs into electoral decisions.

Meanwhile, student leaders are making the connections between their concerns as students and as citizens. The head of the United States Student Association (USSA), a lobbying group that tracks opposition to aid cuts and monitors legislative developments, recently met with the assistant U.S. attorney general to discuss Ku Klux Klan violence. And a representative of the Student Mobilization Against the Cuts (SMAC), a coalition of groups like the newly formed Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) and the Americans for Democratic Action Youth Project, urges students to register to vote while she reminds them to pay attention to campus office workers' concerns.

### Surprise success.

The attempt to put student issues into a larger political context is getting a boost from a rare bit of nice timing. Last year, Reagan and budget director David Stockman, got a \$1 billion reduction in



and as he is having trouble on the Hill, surprised nearly everyone. Last year the elderly firmly reminded the president that his priorities were not in order when he tried to cut social security benefits. "Old people write us letters all the time, so we expected to hear from them," said one congressional aide to a congressman from the West, "but we were surprised at the intensity of the reaction to aid cuts."

Janice Fine, a fast-talking, 21-year-old who is president of the USSA, says she was also surprised at the turnout for National Student Lobbying Day on

gress agreed to vote for the budget as a whole rather than line by line as it normally does. So student aid programs, which have had strong bi-partisan support since the mid-'60s when they were begun, went down in the general massacre of health, human and social services.

"Last year Congress didn't have the guts to fight this issue," Representative Peter Peyser (D-N.Y.) told an audience last month at Columbia University in New York, "but a lot of members are uncomfortable with their votes. They should be. They voted against education."



funds and tighter eligibility standards for loans and grants. The protesters have had a year to contemplate the Reagan victory and organize a lobbying network. This year, they were able to arrive at congressional doors at the same time as thousands of phone calls and letters of outrage from constituents.

That reaction, though it comes as Reagan's fortunes decline in opinion polls

March 1, when 5,000 petitioners showed up for stern conversations with their representatives.

"I didn't expect the turnout, or the reaction from the media," she said, "or the victories we've been winning," referring to the House vote.

Reagan won educational aid cuts last year because in the budget-cutting frenzy that followed his landslide victory, Con-

Last year the House of Representatives also was not up for re-election and did not have to explain why they voted for cuts that will hit the largest part of the electorate—families in the \$20,000 to \$30,000 range—the hardest. Peyser and several other congressmen have been on the stump for months, urging students to play a major role in next fall's contests. Left student groups are doing the same

sort of urging. They point out that most middle income families send their kids to college by piecing together savings, grants and loans into a haphazard financial aid package. The proposed cuts would be one more stress on people already beleaguered by the threat of unemployment and the uncertain economy. Fine regards the cuts as "an attack on the middle and working classes and an attempt to keep nearly everyone but upper-class white males from getting an education."

"It's a myth that education has been an automatic ticket to equality," says Penny Schantz, coordinator of DSA's Youth Section. "But access to education is certainly part of a necessary minimum for equality, and Reagan is cynically dismantling the mechanism that makes access possible."

### Guns and students.

They are particularly concerned about what Schantz calls "the militarization of the campus." As grants and loans are cut back, students become more dependent on joining the military, which pays for tuition, books and a monthly allowance in return for enlistment. Or they are forced to go into defense-related work in order to make a living. And that raises the specter of a huge workforce directly and indirectly subsidized by the Pentagon. It is, therefore, no coincidence that demonstrators at National Student Lobbying Day chanted "Books Not Bombs" and "U.S. Out of El Salvador."

It irritates Fine that so little of what students are doing is known to leftists. She complains that "movement" papers, including *In These Times*, don't cover student activities. "The left looks askance at us and doesn't consider us part of its agenda. In part it's because we've gotten good media coverage. They think student aid must only be a middle-class issue."

She points out that the '70s grassroots organizing included a number of state student associations and public interest research groups that have given students a continuity of political influence they lacked in the '60s. Fine, who is currently on leave from SUNY-Albany, got her training in organizing—"straight out of the Midwest Academy"—through the state student association in New York.

To keep the connections between education and economics clear to politicians, USSA has sponsored the National Student Political Action Committee (NSPAC), which has targeted 101 congressional districts where students could help defeat the incumbents. They will be campaigning for selected candidates and issues in as many congressional districts as NSPAC can afford from June until the elections. USSA, with its roots in mind, is

## Campus groups are putting their protest of aid cuts in a larger political frame.

hoping for a summer of canvassing, organizing and registering similar to the Mississippi Freedom Summer of 1964.

Is the current student protest, which she convincingly traces back to SNCC and SDS, the work of leftists with a well thought-out political philosophy?

"Nah," she says cheerfully, "students are coming out because they're hurting. But so what? A lot of people got active initially because something affected them personally."

One testimony to the success of student organizing efforts is that they have been attacked by two leading right-wing journals, *Conservative Digest* and *Human Rights*. "It's like being on Nixon's enemies' list," Fine says. "You'd wonder what you were doing wrong if you didn't make it."

Barbara Presley Noble is a New York writer.



## INPRINT

## LITERATURE

# "To my country I ship poetry"

**The Country Between Us**  
By Carolyn Forché  
Harper & Row, 59 pp., \$11.50  
hardcover; \$5.95 paper

By Magda Bogin

At 31, Carolyn Forché has already been compared to Pablo Neruda and Denise Levertov as a major new voice on the landscape of political poetry. The company is fine but the comparison may seem ill-reasoned, for a poet who calls the very notion of political poetry "redundant." Forché's poems resemble Ner-

Forché's *El Salvador* stay changed her "irrevocably."



David Hayward

uda little, Levertov even less. Carolyn Forché is a talented, deeply intelligent poet whose own words, both in her poems and outside them, challenge the reigning pieties about what it means to be political and a writer in America today.

"My poetry is no more political than that of the poet who is

celebrating an afternoon as the sun sets in the Mediterranean," the Michigan-born poet told *In These Times*. "It's foolish to say that because you're talking about poor people, or because your poetry celebrates, or gives witness to the plight of the poor, that it's political. That is the perception of the right. The *status quo* never views itself as political, so it's only others, others in opposition or in striking contrast, who are viewed as political."

The poetic vision that won her the Yale Younger Poets award for her first book, *Gathering the Tribes* (1976), has been honed in this new collection. El Salvador is not a "theme" of this poetry, a "subject" that shares the stage of inspiration at random (winter, war, a piece of driftwood). It would have been, Forché says, had she *tried* to write about it. Rather, if Salvador is at the heart of this new book it is because it is at the heart of Carolyn Forché.

"I never intended to write a poem, not even a single one, about El Salvador. But every time I would be tired and wanting so much just to write a poem—go back to my love, poetry—then it would start. It would be about my friends, it would be taking place...there."

"There" is "that country," the unnamed but clearly Central American nation where "The Colonel" (see box) takes place. Forché spent nearly two years in El Salvador, from fall 1978 to early 1980, when Archbishop Oscar Romero and other friends warned her that her life would be in danger if she didn't leave (Romero himself was killed while celebrating mass a week after they spoke).

Forché had tried to keep her art and her politics in two separate compartments. "There was something in me," she said, "that had believed the terrible, I think subliminal, message in the

talk then of how difficult it had become to govern. The parrot said hello on the terrace. The colonel told it to shut up, and pushed himself from the table. My friend said to me with his eyes: say nothing. The colonel returned with a sack used to bring groceries home. He spilled many human ears on the table. They were like dried peach halves. There is no other way to say this. He took one of them in his hands, shook it in our faces, dropped it into a water glass. It came alive there. I am tired of fooling around he said. As for the rights of anyone, tell your people they can go fuck themselves. He swept the ears to the floor with his arm and held the last of his wine in the air. Something for your poetry, no? he said. Some of the ears on the floor caught this scrap of his voice. Some of the ears on the floor were pressed to the ground.

(May 1978)

—Carolyn Forché



Richard Kattavas

Carolyn Forché finds the notion of political poetry redundant.

literary world, especially among poets, that politics are not poetry." As she tells it, her poet friends were unanimously opposed to her decision to visit El Salvador at the invitation of friends there who wanted her to see first-hand "your country's next Vietnam." They felt her poetry would suffer. Forché went anyway.

Her first month she ricocheted back and forth between extremes of poverty and wealth she had never seen. There was Benihana of Tokyo in San Salvador—her first stop off the plane ("Now you will see Saigon, 1959," her guide whispered in her ear as Salvadoran waitresses in kimonos glided by with cocktails); a field hospital where she wore a white coat to work side by side with a young Salvadoran woman doctor; there were embassy receptions and villages where starving children stared at her with worms in their eyes.

Although she had actively opposed American involvement in Vietnam, Forché's politics had not been viscerally formed until she lived in Salvador. In "El Salvador: An Aide Memoire" (*American Poetry Review*, July/August 1981), she describes this experience as a classic process of *concientizacion*, or bringing together of theory and praxis. "I was blessed with the rarity of a moral and political education—what at times would seem an unbearable immersion, what would eventually become a focused obsession."

Forché's fervor is tangible in the very way she speaks. Her slow, carefully enunciated

words, the rhythmic, almost studied patterns of her voice, give urgency to everything she says. Of her return to this country and her fear that she would lose focus, or too easily succumb to the ease of life in "the belly of the monster," she said, "These were all luxurious worries. Luxurious. You can't go back, see? Certain transformations are irrevocable. You can never go back to now knowing,



David Hayward

or to being the way you were before."

While she rejects the suggestion that Salvador has given her a sense of mission, she obviously has a vision of where she is going as a poet. "I'm not a guerrilla," Forché says. "I see now that I am most effective as a writer, as an artist, as someone who can serve as a witness. Dead I'm useless. My gift is the work."

## Unbearable precision.

This new collection is the proof. Whether speaking for the exiled Salvadoran poet Claribel Alegria ("To my country I ship poetry instead/of bread, so I cut through nothing") or for an Argentinian woman with whom she shares *paella* in Barcelona. Forché's "witness" transcends mere testimony. In these lines from "The Memory of Elena" cultural disjunction and the memory of torture are wrought with unbearable precision:

As she talks, the hollow/  
clipping of a horse, the  
sound/of bones touched  
together./The *paella* comes,  
a bed of rice/and *cama-*  
*rones*, fingers and shells/  
the lips of those whose  
lips/have been removed,  
mussels/the soft blue of a  
leg socket.

"Message," written as the so-called final assault was launched in January 1981, is a near-requiem for the Salvadoran friends who go off, while Forché writes the poem, to risk their lives in what she calls "this most hopeful of revolutions:"

You will fight/and fighting,  
you will die. I will live/and  
living cry out until my voice  
is gone/to its hollow of  
earth, where with our/hands  
and by the lives we have  
chosen/we will dig deep into  
our deaths./I have done all  
that I could do./Link hands,  
link arms with me/in the  
next of lives everafter,/where  
we will not know each other/  
or ourselves, where we will  
be a various/  
darkness...

Even when she is not speaking of El Salvador or Latin America, Forché's latest poems have a tautness that gives them the charged air of what she calls "witness." Everywhere in *The Country Between Us* daily life is haunted by the past, by shared or glimpsed sadness, by difficulty. But it is so beautifully expressed that the effect is of deliberate tenderness—solidarity—rather than depression:

We take it with us, the cry/  
of a train slicing a field/  
leaving its stiff suture, a  
distant/tenderness as when  
rails slip/behind us and our  
windows/touch the field,  
where it seems/the dead are  
awake and so reach/for each  
other. ("Departure")

In "Endurance," the dead grandmother who follows the writer from Eastern Europe to Virginia to New York becomes a fir tree "tapping on the glass like/a woman who has lived too much./Piskata, hold your tongue, she says./I am trying to tell you something."

Piskata, "chatterbox," is her Slovak grandmother's childhood nickname for Forché. Piskata is trying to tell us something. Read her.

Magda Bogin is a New York critic and translator.

## The Colonel

What you have heard is true. I was in his house. His wife carried a tray of coffee and sugar. His daughter filed her nails, his son went out for the night. There were daily papers, pet dogs, a pistol on the cushion beside him. The moon swung bare on its black cord over the house. On the television was a cop show. It was in English. Broken bottles were embedded in the walls around the house to scoop the kneecaps from a man's legs or cut his hands to lace. On the windows there were gratings like those in liquor stores. We had dinner, rack of lamb, good wine, a gold bell was on the table for calling the maid. The maid brought green mangoes, salt, a type of bread. I was asked how I enjoyed the country. There was a brief commercial in Spanish. His wife took everything away. There was some



## SCIENCE FICTION

# Futuristic visions that tell us about right now

By Fredric Jameson

Philip K. Dick who died in March at 53, was the Shakespeare of science fiction. Thirty-odd novels over as many years made his name as familiar to SF enthusiasts as it was unknown in English departments, although he became a cult figure among French intellectuals. The most ineffectual way to argue Dick's greatness, however, is to claim his books as high literature (as when enthusiasts pass off Hammett or Chandler, say, for Dostoyevsky). A mass-cultural subgenre like SF has different (and stricter) laws than high culture, and can sometimes express realities and dimensions that escape high literature.

Consider Dick's capacity to render history. Consumer society, media society, the "society of the spectacle," late capitalism—whatever one wants to call this moment—is striking in its loss of a sense of the historical past and of historical futures. This incapacity to imagine historical difference—what Marcuse called the atrophy of the Utopian imagination—is a far more significant pathological symptom of late capitalism than features like "narcissism." "Nostalgia art" from *American Graffiti* to Doctorow's (otherwise fine) novels testifies not to an interest in the past, but rather to its transformation into sheer stereotypes. Even the lessons of older revolutionary theory and practice are often vitiated by historical nostalgia (*Feeds* is also a nostalgia film, alas).

Science fiction is generally understood as the attempt to imagine unimaginable futures. But its deepest subject may in fact be our own historical present. The future of Dick's novels render our present historical by turning it into the past of a fantasized future, as in the most electrifying episodes of his books. In one of the finest and most somber of his novels, *Ubik*, hapless protagonist Joe Chip is desperately trying to reach Des Moines and must travel across a landscape whose objects are rapidly decaying in time. In a first ominous note he finds that the coin-operated refrigerator of his own 1954 present begins to refuse money that has reverted to '70s coinage.

The great airports are also presumably reverting (is there still a "New York Airport" in the late '30s? he wonders), while even the ground transportation to get him across the island begins to become obsolete, the flappies and helicopter taxis of his own day replaced by a classic museum-piece 1939 LaSalle. When he finally manages to rent a Curtiss-Wright biplane theoretically capable of reaching Des Moines sometime tomorrow afternoon (the LaSalle has in the meantime reverted to a 1929 Model-A Ford), there is no guarantee the process will not regress beyond the age of aviation altogether.

In *Now Wait for Last Year* this quest for an impossible past takes the form of a complex that a senile tycoon builds on his private asteroid, a complex that reproduces with loving authenticity the Washington, D.C., of his 1935 boyhood, 120 years earlier. Employees work overtime on the search for period artifacts to furnish this simulation of the past, unearthing such priceless treasures as an old package of Lucky Strike with the green, a radio recording of the soap opera "Betty and Bob" or of Alexander Woolcott's "Town Crier."

In his most famous novel, *Man in a High Castle*, Dick unfolds an alternate history in which the Germans and the Japanese won World War II and occupy and administer the two halves of the continental U.S. between them. But while the Nazis (Hitler long since dead of syphilitic paresis, the succession having passed to Baldur von Schirach) have completed the genocide of Africa and are on their way to colonize the moon, the milder and more aesthetic Japanese have developed a passionate fad for genuine pre-war American artifacts.

## Kipple and Biltong.

The Dick future is no less peculiar than its collectable past—a bureaucratic world in which creditors jet-balloon humiliate hapless debtors by hovering overhead and blaring out their financial standing to the surrounding crowds, in which the coin-op door of your own apartment refuses to let you out when (like Joe Chip) you never have any loose change on you and automated cabs offer comments and advice more exasperatingly than any contemporary taxi driver.

In some of these near-futures an even more ominous phenomenon, kipple, makes its appearance. This is Dick's personal vision of entropy, in which objects lose their form and "merge faceless and identical, mere pudding-like kipple piled to the

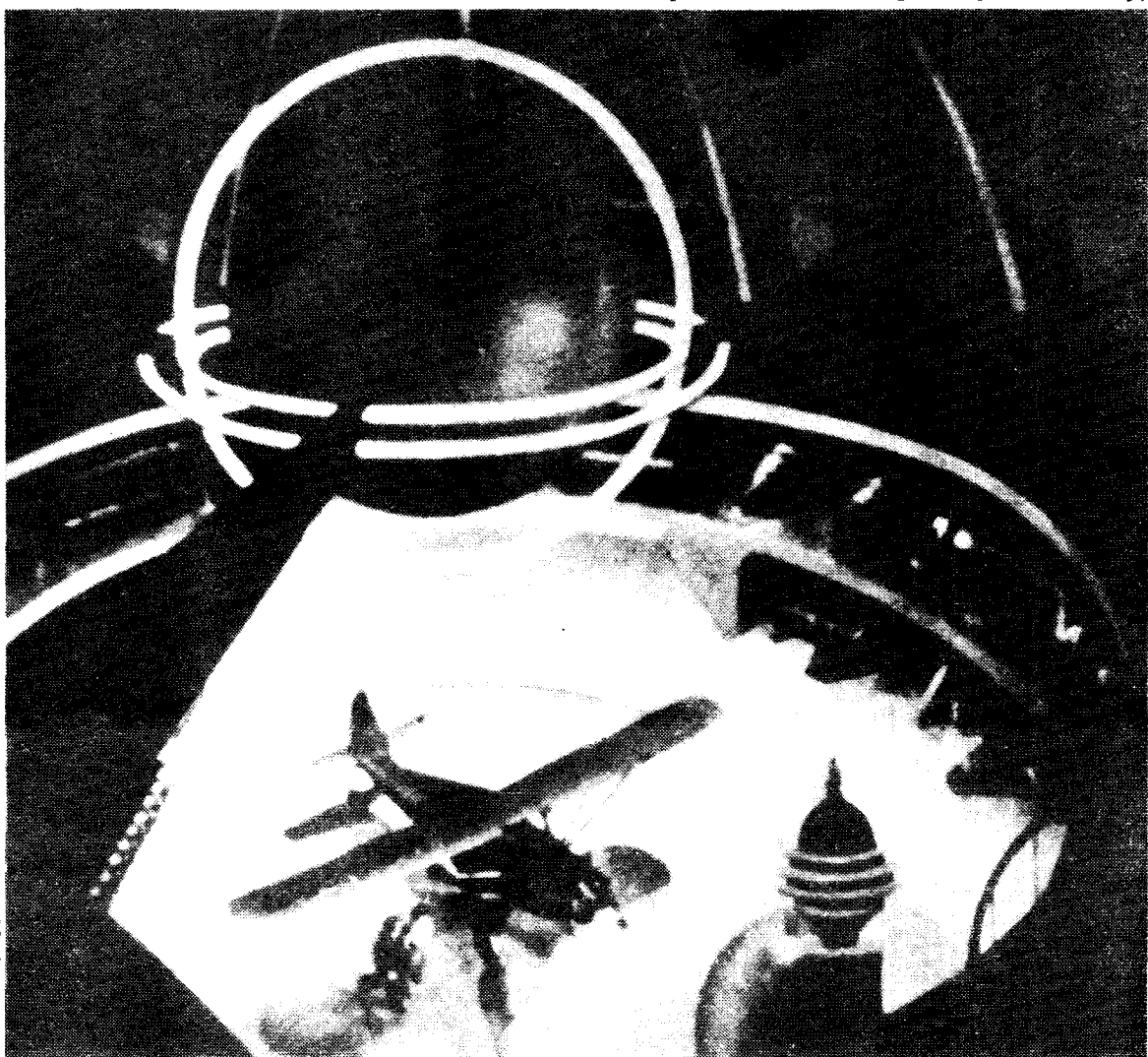
ceiling of each apartment" (from *Do Androids Dream of Electric Sheep?*, soon to be a movie). This late-20th century object world (unlike the gleaming technological futures of Verne or Wells) tends to disintegrate under its own momentum, disengaging films of dust over all its surfaces, growing spongy, tearing apart like rotten cloth or becoming as unreliable as a

tracted by the H-bomb flashes" (Dick's work includes whole boarding-houses full of benevolent and likeable aliens). The Biltong can reproduce perfectly any item or object set before them. But with old age and exhaustion, their prints become blurred and lose definition—whiskey tastes like anti-freeze, doors rip off cars, houses collapse. At length, a population that has forgotten how to produce anything lynches its dying benefactors.

This post-catastrophe perspective may explain why in Dick's novels, as in other kinds of populism, handicraft skill (especially potting) becomes the privileged form of productive labor. Yet it is the related theme of reproduc-

tion of image- and illusion-production. Its "average heroes"—an older, populist, Capraesque type of small employees such as record salesmen, self-employed mechanics and petty bureaucrats—are caught in the convulsive struggles of monopoly corporations and now galactic and intergalactic multinationals, rather than in the *Star Wars* feudal or imperial battles.

It is a literature in which the collective makes a fitful and disturbing reappearance, most often in a paralyzed community of the dead or the stricken, their brains wired together in a nightmarish attempt to find out why their familiar small-town worlds are lacking in depth or solidity,



floor board you put your foot through.

Hence the obsessive compensatory theme of reproduction. In one of his most alarming fables, "Pay for the Printer," Dick imagines a steadily deteriorating post-atomic universe momentarily rescued by the arrival of a curious blob-like species, the Biltong, who appeared "in the closing days of the War, at-

tion and of the production of copies that makes Dick's work one of the most powerful expressions of the society of spectacle and pseudo-event, in which "the image is the final form of commodity reification," as Guy Debord puts it in *The Society of the Spectacle*. For Dick was also the epic poet of drugs and schizophrenia, of a '60s counterculture (not excluding the gnostic mysticism that he propounded insistently in his final years, after the renunciation of the drug culture in *A Scanner Darkly*, in 1977).

This is the Dick of *The Three Stigmata of Palmer Eldritch* (a sardonic commentary on Bradbury's idyllic *Martian Chronicles*), where conscript settlers on a barren Mars seek distraction from their deformed vegetables by a collective drug ritual in which they transubstantiate into the figures of a Barbie-doll-type-lay-out, enjoying the proxy pleasures of a vanished jet-set Earth, driving Jaguar XXB sports ships over still pristine California beaches and making imaginary love with each other while their bodies lie immobile in Martian hovels.

## End to individualism.

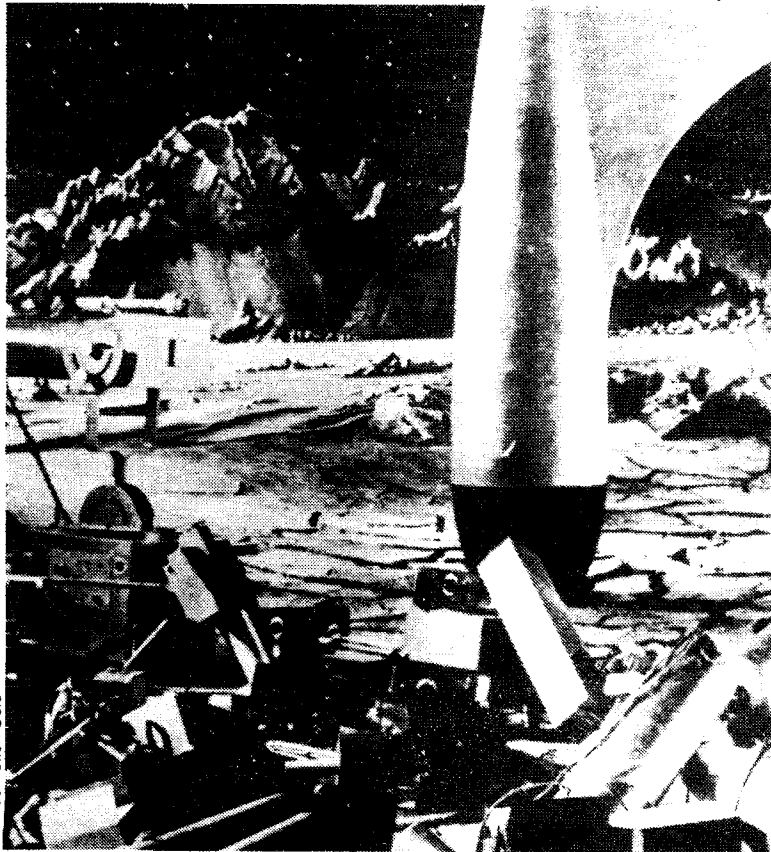
But Dick was more than a supreme embodiment of '60s countercultural themes. This is, for instance, a literature about business, and in particular the sector

only to discover that they are "in reality" all immobilized together in some cryogenic half-life.

It is, finally, a literature of the so-called "death of the subject," of an end to individualism so absolute as to call into question the last glimmers of the ego, as when, in one of Dick's most chilling stories, an executive in an android-producing firm makes the shattering discovery that he is himself an android. "We didn't want you to know," his fellow employees console him gently, "we didn't want to tell you."

It may be the very conventionality, the inauthenticity, the formal stereotyping of science fiction that gives it one signal advantage over modernist high literature. The latter can show us everything about the individual psyche and its subjective experience and alienation, save the essential—the logic of stereotypes, reproductions and depersonalization in which the individual is held in our own time, "like a bird caught in cobwebs" (*Ubik*). Dick's work does that. It is a virtual "art of the fugue" of storytelling, narrative pyrotechnics that unravel themselves in delirium and can stand as a critique of representation itself. ■

Fredric Jameson is the author of among others, *The Political Unconscious* and co-editor of *Social Text*.





FICTION

# Kosinski—the survivor as escape artist

**Pinball**

By Jerzy Kosinski  
Bantam, 287 pp., \$7.95

By Daniel Newman

Patrick Domostroy, a central figure in Jerzy Kosinski's new novel *Pinball*, is a night prowler. He lives at the Old Glory, an abandoned ballroom and banquet hall in the South Bronx, which he sees as "a huge star ship...grounded on a temporary landing pad." "His room is the ship's command post" and he "is the ship's sole passenger."

Domostroy's Old Glory is a symbol of his career. Once a celebrated composer, he has abandoned composing. He has a deep affinity with the romantic Chopin. Like Chopin in Paris, his sexual escapades attract momentary notoriety.

Domostroy is a survivor, one part of Kosinski's newest fictional ego. He is hired by a young woman, Andrea Gwynplaine, to find Goddard, a super rock star who masks his identity (Jimmy Osten) behind celebrity. Using intuition, knowledge of Chopin and seductive power, Domostroy catches Goddard and the other half of himself. Domostroy and Goddard-Osten make up Kosinski's complete disguise.

The action of the novel ricochets like a steel ball in a pinball machine. Searching for Goddard takes us from the Old Glory through many chambers of America's music—piano studios in Carnegie Hall, sound studios in the desert, corporate headquarters and lawyer's offices, nightclubs and sex clubs, fashionable and shabby hotels. It also takes us through rooms where families struggle, and where men and women couple and uncouple. Kosinski describes a leisured, indulgent and hedonistic America, in which very few have time to work.

Goddard's recording studio on his desert ranch, The New Atlantis, is the clearest symbol of American dreams today. "Here, in his own House of Sound, he felt safe and secure. He had designed every inch of it, selected every instrument. There wasn't a single object that he didn't know as intimately as he knew his own body; not one keyboard, push-button, switch, wire, patch cord, plug...was alien to him...Here, all alone, he could instigate and control the whole creative process..."

The plot-machine, like a jukebox, lights up continually with multi-colored sexual fantasies. Sexual escapades, kinky experimentation and violent orgasm all are necessary for Kosinski's women and men, just as fornication and rape fantasies seem necessary for Kosinski's men to retain their imperiled power. For Kosinski *Pinball* is America 1982, after John Lennon's murder, a society in which human action moves frenetically, controlled by the antagonistic

pulls of order and chance.

By mid-novel, Domostroy has tricked Goddard-Osten into searching for the person searching for him. The detective story changes to a narrative based on split identities and uncanny parallels, with inter-changed roles and ironic reversals. Domostroy and Andrea, Jimmy and Donna (his black pianist girlfriend) change partners. The search for identity becomes a search-and-destroy mission. As one might expect in a Kosinski novel, it comes to climax in sudden violence.

## Destructive strategies.

Kosinski has a reputation for an uncommon power to describe destructiveness, signaled by the dark, hypnotic power of *The Painted Bird* and then *Steps*. *Pinball* seems at first a retreat from Kosinski's earlier vision, a capitalization—like *Cockpit*, *Blind Date* and *Passion Play*—on his celebrity as story-teller and companion of the rich, powerful and glamorous. *Pinball* gives Kosinski room to indulge his obsessions with masquerade, and to invent incidents that are refractions of his real life adventures.

But the book actually extends *The Painted Bird's* concern—how to survive destruction. *Pinball* demonstrates, just as *The Painted Bird* and *Steps* do, Kosinski's belief in an extreme and



Jerzy Kosinski's latest novel extends familiar themes.

asocial individualism as a survival strategy within a murderous society.

The boy in *The Painted Bird* survives because he learns to trust no one, not even the women who would protect him. When he catches the plague, he is buried head up by a peasant woman who wants to cure him. The birds came to peck at his face and eyes. But he does not allow himself to be merely a victim. In his fantasy he becomes one with the carnivorous birds. He learns to escape his role as

victim by fantasy identification with his oppressors. And he never looks back.

Domostroy and Goddard-Osten employ the same survival strategies. They trust nobody. Domostroy remains the night prowler at the novel's end, even after the novel's single act of generosity (he lovingly coaches Donna so that she can take first prize in the Chopin contest in Warsaw, and then he lets her go). Osten invents Goddard to escape the emotional and social confines of his family; Goddard

is the fantasy of an individual without parents, unburdened by a past.

Both Domostroy and Osten turn to women to confirm their identities. But as in *The Painted Bird*, love mixes with lust, desire for protection with the desire to attack, hunger for ecstasy and tenderness with a fear of emptiness and loss. Ultimately women are seen either as devouring, murderous or hopelessly beyond reach.

The boy's escape strategy in *The Painted Bird* is to harbor his inner self as if it were invisible. The boy comes to the close of his nightmare journey through Polish peasant society locked in silence. And it is words alone that can be trusted when his dumbness ends. So, too, Domostroy and Osten choose invisibility, their true selves and needs revealed only in the composer's equivalent of words—in self-composed sounds.

Kosinski's belief in an extreme individualism that resists mass society makes him a culture hero for the Sunday *New York Times* and the Hollywood-fascinated press, in which he has been raised to the position of pop romantic hero—like Goddard himself. Kosinski is an escape artist, the one who lives to tell the tale and who lives awfully well. Although Kosinski is a novelist of major gifts who, like Conrad and Nabokov, has an outsider's brilliance in his adopted language, he remains scarred by and fixated on destruction.

If a reader is entertained by Kosinski's fictions, it may be because a reader can imagine escaping through his house of mirrors. But Kosinski's House of Sounds is an illusion, as is the artist playing at his Paganini console, safe and secure. The Paganini can re-loop and synthesize but cannot eradicate social realities.

Daniel Newman teaches Art and Literature at Rutgers University, where he is chairman of the Visual Arts Department.

## NOTEBOOK

**Sez: A Multi-Racial Journal of Poetry and People's Culture**  
P.O. Box 8803, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55408, 62 pp., \$3.50

This special double issue of *Sez* provides an unusual range of information about left cultural activities in the U.S. and Latin America. Featured are poems from the Nicaraguan struggle for liberation, as well as an impressive selection of writings called "On Aging: Let Us Now Praise Famous Elders." In addition to a selection of poems about Vietnam by Polly Mann, this issue presents the work of a dozen new writers and a report on the exploitation of Indian land in the Black Hills of South Dakota. Departments called "Recommended Reading" and "News and Notes" provide first-rate information for anyone interested in current resources for left cultural activities.

In a supplement Thomas McGrath discusses the relationship of his Marxist politics—with which he has been involved since the '30s—to his art, followed by a previously unpublished section of his best-known work, "Letter to an Imaginary Friend." AW

**Be It Enacted By The People: A Citizens' Guide to Initiatives**

By Mike A. Males  
The Northern Rockies Action Group, 9 Placer Street, Helena, MT 59601, \$5.00; \$12.00 for four issues.

*Be It Enacted* is the handiest of guides to the hows, whys and wherefores of mounting citizen initiative campaigns. Since the turn of the century American voters have passed judgment on nearly 2,000 ballot initiatives and nearly 35 percent have been passed into law. And no one, the editors of *Be It Enacted* pronounce tongue-in-cheek, has died as a result.

Here veteran activist Mike Males summarizes the experiences of progressive initiative activists in Montana, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Colorado and Wyoming. His tips on initiative drafting, fundraising, building an organization and a media strategy are valuable fodder even for those whose states do not at present permit initiatives and referenda. *Be It Enacted* is only one of a series issued quarterly from amidst the sagebrush by the Northern

Rockies Action Group—all with tips on anti-corporate citizen organizing. PL

**"Village Culture and the Vietnamese Revolution"**

By David Hunt  
*Past and Present*, P.O. Box 28, Oxford OX2 7BN, England, No. 94, February 1982, \$30 annual; \$9 individual issue

In this thoughtful article by the author of *Parents and Children in History*, the intersections and conflicts between



Vietnamese peasant traditions and political programs during the Vietnam war are examined. Revolutionaries initially wanted to reject "feudal" traditions, but as the Saigon government's actions ate away at the structure of peasant life,

the NLF in fact came to be seen as a preserver of peasant culture. The author well uses RAND Corporation interviews from 1965-1968 conducted with guerrillas, extracting from them more insights into the cultural life of the period than the interviewers intended, but not more than makes sense for his conclusions. PA

**The New Right Papers**

By Robert Whitaker, ed.  
St. Martin's Press, 236 pp., \$12.95

This anthology of writings associated with the new right features some generals—William Rusher, Paul Weyrich, Richard Viguerie, Jeffrey Hart—but too many lieutenants, and among the generals, only Rusher's article really deserves to have been collected. If it needed proving, this anthology demonstrates that the new right is a political tactic, not a philosophy. The philosophy is much more clearly articulated by others not associated with the new right, e.g. Irving Kristol. The tactics are best explained not here but in Richard Viguerie's surprisingly interesting *The New Right: We're Ready to Lead* and in Alan Crawford's *Thunder on the Right*. JJ

Contributors: Pat Aufderheide, John Judis, Patrick Lacefield, Alan Wald



## ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

## DOCUDRAMA



Filmmaker Emile de Antonio couldn't be there when nuclear weapons protesters went on trial, so he re-created the events.

## Plowshares 8, take two

By Joel Schechter

While films like *The Day After Trinity* and *The Atomic Cafe* draw attention to the dangers of nuclear weapons by recalling history, Emile de Antonio's *In The King of Prussia*, to be released this summer, shows the course of a movement for nuclear disarmament.

On September 9, 1980, eight Catholic protesters entered General Electric Plant Number Nine in King of Prussia, Pa., and destroyed two nuclear nosecone shields. One of them, Daniel Berrigan, later called their protest "the first act of genuine disarmament since before World War II." The group is now called the Plowshares Eight, in honor of their effort to put the words of the prophet Jeremiah into action by beating nuclear warheads into something closer to plowshares. The eight were sentenced to prison terms of up to 10 years last summer. Their trial went almost unnoticed by the mass media.

The defendants and their friends invited de Antonio to film their trial, but he initially declined. In a conversation at his Manhattan studio in March he told me that his refusal had nothing to do with disapproval of the group's action. On the contrary, he has known and admired Daniel Berrigan for years. Berrigan appears in de Antonio's anti-Vietnam war documentary, *The Year of the Pig*, nominated for an Academy Award in 1970. De Antonio is not one to avoid political controversy. In fact, his art thrives on it.

*Point of Order* (1963), his first film, won widespread acclaim and became a model for other

leftist directors. By severely and imaginatively cutting and reshaping 188 hours of CBS news broadcasts, de Antonio turned virtually lost reels into a satiric and moving commentary on McCarthyism. *Underground* (1976) featured Weather Underground members at a time the FBI was unable to find them. The FBI subpoenaed the unfinished film, but de Antonio refused to let them see it before the general public did. Other films ridiculed Richard Nixon (*Millhouse*), as *Point of Order* had with the extreme conservatism of the Army-McCarthy hearings.

The director told the Plowshares Eight that he would have preferred to be arrested with them while filming the action at the General Electric plant. He wrote to Daniel Berrigan, Paul Meyer and others "who contemplate challenging the state," before he finally agreed to film the trial, noting that "a B contract actor and his actress wife" have

become president and first lady, and our culture is now "a media culture." "Therefore if you or anyone else plans to hammer a nuclear nosecone or blow up a plant or sit down at Shoreham (Nuclear Power Plant) and confront the state, remember to do it with a camera. You are not there unless it is filmed...."

"I don't talk to the police or grand juries, and if I were to help you and Dan, I should have filmed it from the beginning. It's better film, it's better theater, it's what others will look at.... If you contemplate future actions, film them in the planning stage with someone you can trust as if he were a member of the action itself. Film the action, film it all."

De Antonio told *In These Times* he regrets but acknowledges that nothing is regarded as real today unless it is seen on film or TV. He also regrets he was unable to film the GE plant action in its planning stages,

since the Plowshares Eight engaged in "what was almost a religious retreat, with seven days of prayer, learning to trust one another, as well as discussing which factory gate to enter." De Antonio wants to cross the lines usually drawn between "the artist who does something about a political act and the artist who is himself part of that act." He has done this to a degree in his eventual decision to film *In the King of Prussia*.

De Antonio was denied permission to film the trial by the conservative judge presiding in Norristown, Pa. At considerable personal expense, he appealed to the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, and his appeal was turned down "with dispatch." So de Antonio wrote a script for his own version of the trial. His adaptation emphasized aspects of the defense that were lost or understressed in the Norristown court's lengthy proceedings.

Forced to keep his camera outside during the Norristown trial, de Antonio filmed scenes outdoors; scenes of the town sheriff and district attorney entering the building; of an Ash Wednesday ceremony where the defendants created and wore ashes produced by burning their indictment, GE records and dollar bills; of Norristown citizens commenting on the trial.

The mock trial was filmed on a set at the Labor Theater in Manhattan. De Antonio mixed the defendants with professional actors. He found that some of the activists were even more articulate and revealing of themselves in the company of professional actors, on camera, than they had been in court.

Daniel Berrigan, said de Antonio, "has the extraordinary ability to play himself as an actor plays a role. He can't play another role, but he knows how to make the most of himself. He has an innate sense of timing. In the film, unlike the actual trial, I had him stand up, walk, and talk to the spectators, the judge, then to the district attorney and the jury. And then he ends up back with the seven other defendants just as he concludes: 'And that is our crime...(pause)...responsibility.' That was done without any rehearsal. Those speeches were more beautiful for my camera than they were in court. He rises to the dramatic occasion."

One unexpected pleasure for de Antonio was actor Martin Sheen's participation in the role of Judge Salus. Originally, in a scenario reminiscent of Brecht or

Godard, the director planned to film an interview with the Norristown judge, and then have an actor play the role. The judge reneged his promise of an interview, but Sheen agreed to play the unsympathetic role. Sheen, best known for his leading roles in *Apocalypse Now* and *Badlands*, first met de Antonio when the director was refusing to let the FBI see his interviews with the Weather Underground. Then as now Sheen offered his support. Besides portraying the judge, he contributed \$5,000 to production costs. In a letter to de Antonio, Sheen said that his work on the set with Berrigan "allowed me to get as close to bravery as I'm ever likely to come."

"Everyone on the set," says de Antonio, "worked cooperatively in a way that you could not pay people to work. I had 50 to 60 paid professionals there, and twice during the shooting they spontaneously stopped everything and applauded the defendants."

The mock trial, de Antonio said, "insures that the beliefs of the defendants are clearly articulated, and given greater emphasis than they receive in the thousands of pages of soggy, massive transcripts."

De Antonio has no illusion that his new film is an objective record of the trial. "Anyone who points a camera is making a judgment," he said. "The framing, the length of the shot, and the editing are all forms of judgment. So we remade justice. There was no justice in the first trial; there the Plowshares Eight were convicted. In the film I convict the state and the judge with their own words."

De Antonio said he was "shocked that a number of brilliant actions by these people, actions full of wit and irony, were unreported" by most of the media. He cites Philip Berrigan's ritual exorcism of demons in Alexander Haig's office at the State Department; this example of religious and political protest, in which ashes were sprinkled in the Secretary of State's office, could well be the basis for another film.

"It's theater of a high order, and religious ceremony of a higher order," said de Antonio. "If the existing media aren't receptive to this type of event, we have to create receptive media."

Joel Schechter teaches at the Yale School of Drama, where he is also the editor of *Theater magazine*.

## DOCUMENTARY

### Caldicott's talks can freeze the viewers

By Mimi Morton

The film *If You Love This Planet: Dr. Helen Caldicott on Nuclear War*, directed and edited by Terri Nash and produced by the women's studio of the National Film Board (NFB) of Canada, is a dense, 25-minute film focusing on a speech by Dr. Helen Caldicott that she delivered be-

fore an American college audience. My reservations do not concern the film so much as Caldicott's antinuclear strategy.

The film intersperses footage from '40s and '50s newsreels portraying American nuclear might. Recently declassified film shows the maimed survivors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. There are several unnervingly surreal

Continued on page 21





## PROPAGANDA



The emotional impact of a compilation film like this depends on the memories people bring to it.

# Hot lunch at *The Atomic Cafe*

By Eric Breitbart

*The Atomic Cafe* is a funny, chilling look inside the American psyche—a feature-length compilation of excerpts from government and military training films, newsreels, cartoons and songs used to pacify the American public about the dangers of nuclear war.

Filmmakers Jayne Loader, Kevin Rafferty and Pierce Rafferty combed film archives for five years to assemble what began as a comprehensive history of American propaganda. They ended up focusing on the Atomic bomb culture of the '40s and '50s, in itself a formidable task.

"We exhausted the Library of Congress, the National Archives, and dozens of military archives," Pierce Rafferty said to *In These Times*. "The ratio of what we viewed to what we ended up using was maybe 10,000 to one."

*The Atomic Cafe* is only the tip of a vast iceberg of propaganda, a Manhattan Project of the Mind. Once the bomb had been dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, nuclear weapons became another tool in the arsenal of democracy. Nuclear war may have been unthinkable; but it was also feasible, winnable and survivable.

Most of the ludicrous humor in the film comes from this attempt to render the bomb familiar and non-threatening—the clip from the Civil Defense classic, "How to Beat the Bomb," which attempts to calm fears about radiation by proving arithmetically "the fallacy of devoting 85 percent of one's worrying capacity to an agent that constitutes only about 15 percent of an atomic bomb," for instance, and the scene of a father in a fallout shelter calmly washing off the radioactive dust from his arms in the sink. Life after the bomb would be just the same as before, just deeper under the ground.

While some of the illogic in the propaganda can be excused by ignorance—we certainly

## The film turns pro-nuclear '50s footage on its head.

know more about radiation than we did 30 years ago—the cumulative effect of *The Atomic Cafe* is to reveal the marked callousness and deception on the part of the U.S. government toward its citizens, and to those of the world.

### Second time is better.

In its use of archive material, *The Atomic Cafe* stands apart from the dominant trends of documentary filmmaking of the last 20 years—cinema verite and oral history. Most new left and near left documentaries have used archive material for illustrative purposes only, as cutaways for filmed interviews. *The Atomic Cafe* is part of a glorious but little-known genre—the compilation film.

As film historian Jay Leyda noted in his study of the genre, *Films Beget Films*, "Anything that has been put on to film can be employed a second time—usually with more force than the first." Unlike most compilation films, *The Atomic Cafe* reverses the original intention of the material.

"We didn't have a script," Kevin Rafferty told *Variety*. "Our idea was to use the original material against itself. With re-editing, juxtaposition, use of music, we took the original propaganda and exposed its silliness in some cases and its frightfulness in other cases." Although this technique was also used in Connie Field's *Rosie the Riveter*, which shows how women were recruited for the war effort, and then urged to return to the home once the war was over, the use of the propaganda films in *The Atomic Cafe* is closer to the anti-Nazi photomontages produced by

John Heartfield in the '30s.

Heartfield's specialty was taking speeches by Hitler and other Nazi leaders and turning the phrases back on themselves in cover illustrations for the weekly journal *A.I.Z.* One of the most famous has a quote from Hitler as a caption—"Millions stand behind me." The illustration shows Hitler with his hand raised in the Nazi salute. Behind him stands a giant figure of a banker, dropping gold coins into the Fuhrer's outstretched palm.

Cover illustrations such as Heartfield's are pointed and direct, much like editorial cartooning. They also depend on the public's familiarity with the words and events being used. To accomplish a similar purpose with film material, much of which is over 30 years old, requires a more elusive form of audience identification. The effectiveness of *The Atomic Cafe* rests on the psychic baggage the audience brings with it.

It is interesting in this regard, to compare *The Atomic Cafe* with Tom Johnson and Lance Bird's *No Place to Hide*, a 30-minute documentary recently broadcast on PBS, which uses much of the same material. *No Place to Hide*, however, uses Brian Eno's electronic music to set the mood in certain sequences, and has a narration, written by novelist John Crowley, and spoken by actor Martin Sheen, that creates a real persona—an adult of today, reliving his memories of being told that shelter was possible when he knew, in his heart, that this was a lie. (I had seen *No Place to Hide* before it was finished, with a "scratch track" recorded by the writer, John Crowley, whose voice I didn't know. I found that the familiar actor's voice of Sheen prevented me from identifying my personal memories of the late '40s and early '50s with those of the narrator.)

*No Place to Hide*, which ends with the Cuban missile crisis, uses the atomic bomb propaganda to advance a thesis—that it was being used to pave the way

for Cold War anti-communism.

The filmmakers of *The Atomic Cafe* chose to let the material stand by itself without new narration, but the reason was certainly not aesthetic purity. As in most compilation films, the sections of the film that look most



A family lives just like before, only underground, in an official '50s civil defense photo.

fluid and "uncut" are those with the most editing.

One of *The Atomic Cafe*'s most skillful, and memorable, sequences is the animated Burt the Turtle advising schoolchildren to "Duck and Cover" when they see the flash of the bomb. Originally, it was a half-hour movie. According to Jayne Loader, "We condensed it to about three minutes and even so, that includes clips from about 30 other films of all the shots we could find of kids ducking under their desks." The resulting sequence is a small masterpiece of gallows humor—the cheery voice singing "Duck and Cover," the turtle pulling into his shell, the children hiding under their desks, the boy falling off his

bicycle and hugging the wall.

The humor, of course, lies in the dislocation between the image and reality. The danger is that the laughter will be used to cover up something too painful to face seriously.

On one level, *The Atomic Cafe* can be experienced as '50s nostalgia, a hot item (so to speak) for midnight movie screenings. The soundtrack album, featuring such long-forgotten pearls as the Five Stars' "Atom Bomb Baby," Little Caesar's "Atomic Love" and the Buchanan Brothers' "Atomic Power," has been released by Rounder Records. A paperback book based on the film is forthcoming from Bantam Books. It wouldn't be hard to imagine the film sparking a mini-fad in atomic ephemera such as radiation badges, dark glasses and protective clothing.

Much as we may want to laugh at the propaganda, the threat of nuclear destruction is no joke. The fact that we can feel superior to our younger, more innocent selves of the '50s should not blind us to the subtler forms of propaganda being used today. No one could take this type of filmmaking seriously any more—but the world's population of nuclear warheads has now surpassed 50,000. Perhaps the only way to deal with the horrible reality of the possibility of nuclear war is to begin to face it—to strip away the levels of denial and self-protection that encrust it.

*The Atomic Cafe* ends with a montage of atomic explosions, a sight that has been described as one of the most beautiful the world has to offer. The most beautiful sight of all, the biggest

thermonuclear blast, would, of course, have no witnesses. Human history would be eliminated in a flash—no past, no present and no future.

In *The Fate of the Earth*, Jonathan Schell wrote, "The right vantage point from which to view a holocaust is that of a corpse, but from that vantage point, of course, there is nothing to report." *The Atomic Cafe* is a film that lifts the veil. The choice to look at the corpse is our own.

(For more information write The Archive Project, P.O. Box 438 Canal St., New York, NY 10013.)

Eric Breitbart, a one-time member of Newsreel, recently completed a film on Taylorism, *Clockwork*.



**Clockwork**

This is a meticulous and provocative 25-minute film by Eric Breitbart about the transforming of work styles in the American workplace as a result of Frederick Winslow Taylor's innovations. Taylor's time-motion studies and engineering changes made factory production more technically efficient and degraded the quality of work done by each worker. This film places Taylorism in two contexts, personal and social. Taylor was a Philadelphia Quaker, "intensely disciplined" and obsessed with control, whose professional career expectations were derailed when a doctor kept him out of college and prescribed manual work because of his frail health. Taylor's private drive to control meshed perfectly with industrialists' search to expand production beyond the capacity of a system that depended on craft skills and small group teamwork. It is shocking to see how self-conscious the attempt to destroy craftsmanship and pride in work was. Long-range effects are brought home by two contrasting scenes. In one an older machine shop operator describes making a tool, a process that is more art than science. Then at a huge convention a salesman shows off a new computer that can execute such tasks at a touch of a button. By stressing the self-consciousness of engineers and planners, the film quietly dispels the notion that technological progress is separated from social or political history, even in the minds of engineers. Without detailing incidents, the film mentions worker resistance to this process, and it hints at the possibility of opposition to further mechanization of work. It should be a valuable discussion tool and also a long-lived asset to school libraries. **PA California Newsreel, 630 Natoma St., San Francisco, CA 94103.**

**What Could You Do with a Nickel?**

This is a briskly-paced 25-minute recounting of a 1977 attempt by domestic workers in

**FILM CLIPS**

Frederick Winslow Taylor was obsessed with efficiency.

New York City to form a union. After reviewing the history of failed attempts by domestic workers to organize, the film profiles the current problem—housekeepers hired by the city to care for the poor were getting their pay irregularly. The Teamsters temporarily accept the women, but when the city fights their demands for better pay the Teamsters back off, leaving the women stranded. Without the union, says one woman, there's "something lost outa my life." The film suggests a citywide organizing campaign is now underway. Cara DeVito and Jeffrey Kleinman with co-producer Lillian Jimenez have kept the women's story in front and gimmicks to a minimum. The film, a discussion-provoker for social-change organizing, may also air on

New York public TV. **PA New Times TV, 182 5th Ave., New York, NY 10010.**

**Labor's Turning Point**

This new slice of Minnesota labor history, directed by John de Graaf (he also made *A Common Man's Courage*) overcomes an uninspired production—a mix of historical stills and footage, talking heads, portentous narration and whiny folk music—by providing a much-needed recounting of the 1934 Teamsters strike in Minneapolis. The strike pitted workers long-thwarted in unionizing drives against management's vigilante squads, with a populist Farmer-Labor Party governor, Trotskyist organizers and an unsupportive Teamster union president each playing key

roles. Anti-communism and sectarian hostilities punctuated this history. The film judiciously cites inflammatory anti-communist propaganda of the management organization, touches only lightly on sectarian left battles preceding the strike and barely alludes to the contradictions of Farmer-Labor populism. The drama of a strike that resulted in street riots, deaths and martial law in the city emerges clearly, but the 44-minute film doesn't provide enough material to analyze its claims that the strike marked a turning point nationwide in union organizing. **PA Labor Education Service, 271 19th Ave. S., University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN 55455.**

**Jean Kilbourne's slide shows and films**

For the past 12 years, Kilbourne has been giving an hour-long slide-talk show called, "The Naked Truth: Advertising's Image of Women," featuring images from major commercial magazines, accompanied by Kilbourne's running

commentary of analysis, statistics and humor. This witty and disturbing show ranges from advertising's impossible standards of female beauty ("Indeed, she has no pores," comments Kilbourne of the air-brushed face of a model) to more overt forms of objectification, such as portraying women as pieces of fruit or meat, to ads showing outright violence against women. The show, which Kilbourne has given to women's groups, community groups and high schools across the country, is also available as a 45-minute film, "Killing Us Softly: Advertising's Image of Women." Recently Kilbourne began doing a second slide-talk show (soon to be a film) on ads and alcoholism, focusing on the use of alcohol in the culture as a way of diverting oppressed groups—women, people of color and the young—from challenging their conditions. **RK Lordly and Dame, Inc., 51 Church St., Boston, MA 02116. Contributors: Pat Aufderheide, Rachel Kranz**

**THE NAKED TRUTH** critiques advertising's image of women.

**Nukes**

Continued from page 19

cuts from a Ronald Reagan war movie in which the future president exhibits the enthusiasm of the cub pilot who wants to know "when can I blow a few of them up." (These segments have apparently caused consternation at NFR distribution, where there is fear of offending the U.S.) As ever bigger warheads explode on screen and as Caldicott's facts become more deadly, the camera pans the youthful audience, cataloging rapt, stricken faces.

The film ends with Caldicott's closing recommendations for action. They should demand that nuclear arms production cease. They might also join the organizations she has founded, Physicians for Social Responsibility and the Women's Party for Survival. Or they might bring their babies to Washington and release diapered toddlers in Congress when nuclear arms are being debated. The audience laughs weakly.

Helen Caldicott is one of the best-known and most respected

figures in the antinuclear movement. At the Montreal premiere, a show of hands indicated that nearly the entire audience of 500 was familiar with her. Many of my friends had already heard versions of her speech and chose not to see the film because, in the words of one, "I don't think I can take that anxiety again."

I could sympathize. After I heard Caldicott last summer, I couldn't sleep for a week. In the shadow of nuclear war, daily life loses meaning; nothing seems worth doing. If people think that their days are numbered, would they consider it worthwhile working for nuclear disarmament which, after all, is a long, slow process of organizing? For all those who have been awakened by Caldicott's speech, how many others have been stunned into quietism?

I do not believe that Caldicott intends her rhetoric to paralyze. She in fact speaks of the denial of death, an impulse that she says she encounters among terminally ill patients as well as her traumatized audiences. But her mixing of facts and predictions elicits that reaction. Caldicott perhaps unwittingly allows the mix of hard and soft data to

suggest such war is inevitable. For example, she describes the "doomsday clock" as it inches toward midnight. So convincing is her use of scientific data that it is hard to realize that the "doomsday clock" is not also hard data.

Other predictions may be interpreted all too easily as facts. "In 1975, American military leaders predicted a 50-50 chance of nuclear war by 1985," reads the flier containing "facts from the film." "This statistical probability was subsequently confirmed by Harvard University and MIT." Caldicott does not qualify these predictions. Did the unnamed American military leaders perhaps have some poli-

tical motive for issuing such a prediction? She does not say.

Finally, in contrast to the power and seriousness of her argument, some of her recommendations for action sound almost frivolous. She does not, for instance, mention antinuclear groups other than her own or indicate the rising power of the international disarmament movement. She does not relate the antinuclear movement to the political mainstream. And when she tells people to bring their babies to Congress she is about as credible as Allen Ginsberg was when, during the Vietnam war, he suggested that people march on the Pentagon naked.

Caldicott seems to have a

stake in being taken seriously by people in power, and has criticized some American feminists in the disarmament movement, claiming that their image was too bizarre and might hinder the movement's effectiveness in Washington. In light of her own pragmatism, some of Caldicott's recommendations seem strangely out of place, almost Dadaesque.

Caldicott awakens people to the greatest threat to life. It is essential to the antinuclear movement that she also place more emphasis on practical strategies for survival.

**Mimi Morton teaches American literature and women's studies at a junior college in Montreal.**

**SYLVIA**

by Nicole Hollander





# Kelpers

Continued from page 9

the Falklands. He caused a storm both in the House and on the Islands by explaining why a settlement with Argentina was necessary.

"The dispute is causing continuing uncertainty, emigration and economic stagnation in the Islands," he said. He then called for a lease-back agreement whereby Argentina would acquire sovereignty and Britain would lease the Islands under their own administration for an undetermined number of years, similar to their arrangement in Hong Kong.

House members protested that he was implying that Britain couldn't—or worse, wouldn't—protect their own people, and argued that if England had the will, the Falklands would be thriving, regardless of Argentine designs. Though that response was applauded in the Islands, the Kelpers knew that their emigration and economic problems could not be attributed entirely to Argentina.

Historically, the Falklands have always been treated as a private profit domain by absentee landlords who bled away monetary strength instead of reinvesting profits in their holdings. Most of the acreage and most of the sheep—and therefore most of the Island's natural resources—belonged to people who lived in Britain.

In 1976, Lord Shackleton (son of the antarctic explorer Ernest Shackleton) observed in an economic report that "the concentration of economic power in companies based outside the Falkland Islands could be a constraint on and give rise to difficulties in the long-run development of the Islands."

Despite pride in their British ancestry, Kelpers recognized that economic stagnation could be traced to their subservient position. Most complaints were aimed at the Falkland Islands Company (FIC), a subsidiary of the English energy corporation Coalite. The company controls 40 percent of wool production, owns 46 percent of the land and owns the banks internal shipping services, wholesale and retail trades and a travel agency.

"The FIC has never reinvested a cent in the Falklands," commented Stuart Wal-

lace, a legislative councillor and representative in U.N. discussions between Britain and Argentina. "They have continually put the squeeze on us to make more money for their shareholders in the UK."

But the company has its supporters. "It has been responsible for keeping the Islands alive," said John Smith, naval historian and FIC employee.

"The Islands would go to pieces if FIC withdrew," added Jim Clement, executive secretary of the Sheepowners Association. "After all, nobody has the capital to provide their services."

Nonetheless, in late 1980 public opinion and official pressure forced the company to sell one of its less-profitable farms to the government, which then divided it into six 15,000-acre ranches and sold them to Kelpers on easy terms in an effort to stem emigration.

"If you want people to stay," explained Adrain Monk, councillor and representative with Wallace at the New York U.N. negotiations, "you have to give them a stake in the land."

But land was limited, so most owners, including the FIC, held on to what they had. Not wanting to part with any more of its acreage, yet sensitive to the public mood, the company late last year announced plans to develop share-farming arrangements on selected Islands.

"They are facing up to economic realities," observed Falkland's Gov. Rex Hunt last summer. "They don't want to sell, so how else can they get the most for their money and still hold on to their land?"

Argentina has promised to reimburse all land owners in the Falklands who now wish to leave. But Islanders have never expressed much faith in Argentine promises. "They say they will give us all the safeguards we want," explained Stuart Wallace. "But how can we trust a right-wing dictatorship?"

"We don't deny that we have problems here," retorted an official in the Argentine Foreign Ministry in Buenos Aires. "But you can't tell me the Kelpers have democracy. The farms are run like little kingdoms and the FIC owns half of everything."

The Buenos Aires daily newspaper, *Clarín*, went even further last year when in an editorial it accused the FIC of playing a major role in the dispute, saying

that "only the monopolistic interests of the FIC impedes the arrival of a legitimate agreement. What they fear most is that their reign will come to an end."

Ironically, Islanders felt that the company, under orders from Coalite, was pushing for a settlement to guarantee a stake in potential petroleum reserves.

Harry Milne, FIC general manager in Port Stanley, hotly denied the accusation. He did concede that oil was a consideration for the future, but said Coalite had taken no stance regarding sovereignty.

The Argentines took a different view, arguing that the UK and Coalite were using Kelper wishes as a smokescreen to stall discussions until they could get at the oil. No sizable reserves have yet been substantiated, although a French consortium recently announced an oil discovery near the Islands.

To further complicate the situation, many Kelpers feared that economic development would signal an end to the isolated existence they so valued. Oil and other industries would bring in too many people and too much fast money, both of which would ultimately threaten their lifestyles and the wildlife—including five varieties of penguins. The Argentines have already announced joint plans with the Japanese to slaughter thousands of penguins to manufacture gloves.

Considering all that was confronting them, the Islanders were understandably angry and firm in their will to resist pressure from all sides. With near-unanimous local support, early last year the

legislative council greeted him by voting seven-to-one to freeze all negotiations with Argentina for 25 years. The lone dissenter was even more hardline, demanding a permanent freeze. The vote confounded the British and notified the Argentines that any agreement acceptable to the Kelpers would necessitate a long wait.

So in the wake of the invasion that cost Argentina its U.S. support, forced Britain to steam off toward what it wanted to avoid and put the Kelpers in the position they most dreaded, perhaps one Islander's unorthodox proposal offers the best solution.

"I'm not British," said Graham Bound, 24-year-old editor of one of two Falklands' monthly newspapers. "I'm a Falkland Islander." Last year in an editorial he wrote: "Britain does not want us and is going to get rid of us one way or another. There are only two ways they can do this; give us our independence or give us away. Surely the first is the better of the two alternatives."

While Bound agreed with most Kelpers that independence was not by itself politically and economically tenable, he combined his suggestion with a plan to petition the U.N. to declare and maintain the Islands as an International Wildlife Sanctuary, and thus preserve for the world the Falklands' unique lifestyle and wildlife.

J.H. Evans and Jack Epstein are San Francisco-based journalists who specialize in Latin American affairs.

## DIRECTORY

The Directory is published to facilitate contact with organizations frequently referred to in the pages of *In These Times*. Each organization has paid a fee for its listing.

**Association for Workplace Democracy**  
1747 Connecticut Ave., NW  
Washington, DC 20009

**The Citizens Party-National Office**  
1623 Connecticut Ave., NW  
Washington, DC 20009

**The Citizens Party of Illinois**  
109 N. Dearborn, Suite 603  
Chicago, IL 60602  
(312) 332-2066

**Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy**  
120 Maryland Ave., NE  
Washington, DC 20002

**C.O.I.N.-Consumers Opposed to Inflation in the Necessities**  
2000 P Street, NW, Suite 413  
Washington, DC 20036

**DSA-Democratic Socialists of America (formerly DSOC/NAM)**  
853 Broadway, Room 801  
New York, NY 10003  
3244 N. Clark Street  
Chicago, IL 60657

29 29th Street  
San Francisco, CA 94110

**Midwest Academy**  
600 West Fullerton Ave.  
Chicago, IL 60614

**National Center for Economic Alternatives**  
2000 P Street, NW, Suite 200  
Washington, DC 20036

**New Patriot Alliance/DSOL**  
343 S. Dearborn, Room 305  
Chicago, IL 60604

**Socialist Party**  
1011 N. 3rd St., No. 201  
Milwaukee, WI 53203

## CALENDAR

Use the calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is **\$20.00 for one insertion, \$30.00 for two insertions** and **\$15.00 for each additional insert**, for copy of 50 words or less (additional words are 50¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of **Paul Ginger**.

### CHICAGO, IL

#### May 7

The Night-Life Child Care Center at Cross-Currents is open every Friday evening in May, 7:30 p.m.-midnight, for children of our customers aged three months and older. It is non-licensed, faculty-equipped for play, rest and good care, and requires that parents be on the premises—in the bar, cabaret or upstairs. For information, call (312)472-7778. CrossCurrents, 3206 N. Wilton Avenue, Chicago, IL 60657.

#### May 9

"Rosie the Riveter" On Sunday, Women in Trades will present the film, "Rosie the Riveter." We are a newly formed group of women in non-traditional work in construction and manufacturing. A panel discussion on women in blue-collar work today will follow the film. 1:30 p.m. CrossCurrents Hall, 3206 North Wilton Avenue. \$2.50. (312)848-7841.

#### May 10

The Illinois Coalition Against Reagan Economics wants you to join the Ronald Reagan Welcoming Committee. Reagan will be in Chicago to address the YMCA. I-CARE will be there too, with demands for jobs, peace, justice and equality, all under attack by Reaganomics. Join us on Monday for an 11 a.m. picket line and a noon rally in Grant Park (Michigan & Balbo) across from the Conrad Hilton where Reagan is speaking. Help show the world that Ronald Reagan isn't the only one who means business. For more information, or to send a contribution, contact

I-CARE, 59 E. Van Buren, Rm. 1219, Chicago, IL 60605 (312)427-6262.

#### May 16

New Jewish Agenda-Chicago Chapter will present Arthur Liebman, Professor of Sociology SUNY-Binghamton and author of the book *Jews and the Left* lecturing on "The Jewish Radical Tradition." Sunday, 2:00 p.m. at the Midland Hotel, 172 W. Adams, Chicago. For information call Stan Rosen at (312)996-2623. Donation requested.

### MINNEAPOLIS, MN

#### May 8

Conference: "Advancing Union Democracy Cause"; 9:00 a.m.-6:30 p.m., St. Stephens School, 2123 Clinton Ave., \$3.00. Speakers from: Action Center Union Democracy; Benson, Fox, Schneider, Association for Union Democracy. Write 215 Park Ave. South, NYC 10003. Phone (212) 473-0606.

### ROCHESTER, NY

#### May 8-9

The New York State Citizens Party state caucus will be held in Rochester, N.Y. Workshops will be held on state and national strategies. Rick Musty, from Burlington, Vt., and Barbara Regan will speak on local strategies and women in politics respectively. For information contact Lois Andrew (716)271-6211.

### WASHINGTON, D.C.

#### May 8

Salmon Show (see New York Calendar listing). 8 p.m. All-Souls Church, 16th St. and Harvard St., NW.

### ANN ARBOR, MI

#### May 12-16

Extending workplace democracy. A residential school for union members and leaders in-

terested in quality of worklife, quality circles and other worker-participation programs. Workshops will cover analysis and implementation from a union perspective. For information, call John Beck or Andree Naylor at U of MI Labor Studies Center (313)764-0492.

#### May 23-27

Workers' Culture School to uncover the wealth of information about workers and their work and to express this knowledge creatively. Workshops: Poetry, Literature, Drama, Visual Arts, Song, Oral History, Folklore. Field trips. Performances. For information: Program on Workers' Culture, U of MI, 108 Museums Annex, 48109 (313)764-6395.

### BOSTON, MA

#### May 13

"Bats, Balls, and Dollar Bills," a slide show on the history and politics of American sports, followed by a talk with Bob Katz, founder of Fans for Control of Sports and Louis Kampf, professor at MIT, will be held at 8 p.m. at the Workmen's Circle, 1762 Beacon St., Brookline. Information: Democratic Socialists of America, (617)426-9026.

### NEWARK, NJ

#### May 15

The "Democratic Agenda: Confronting Reagan, Recessions and Retreat" Eastern Regional Conference on the economic and political alternatives to Reagan and the Democratic Party retreat. Strategies for grassroots organizing and electoral coalitions. Terry Herndon, Karen Burstein, Michael Harrington, Gordon Adams, Carol O'Cleiracain, others. Robert Treat Hotel, 50 Park Place, 9 a.m.-6 p.m. Registration: \$15; \$10 low income; \$25 with luncheon; (212)260-3270.

### PHILADELPHIA, PA

#### May 15

Women Strike for Peace proudly invites you to a luncheon honoring Linus Pauling, Nobel Laureate. Phila. Centre Hotel, 1725 J.F. Ken-

nedy Blvd., 12:30 p.m. For more information: (215)WA3-0861.

### NEW YORK, NY

#### May 20

Michael Harrington, Chair of Democratic Socialists of America, will present the "Democratic Socialist Alternative to Reaganomics" on Thursday at 7:30 p.m. at St. Johns St. Matthew Emmanuel Lutheran Church Community Center, 415 7th St. For further information contact Sy Posner at (212)783-3940 or (212)488-3054. \$2 donation requested. Refreshments will be served during and after the meeting.

#### May 22

Salmon Show with Bob Carroll. Academic Freedom Benefit for Bertell Ollman in his suit against University of Maryland. 8 p.m., Schimmel Auditorium, Tisch Hall (NYU), 40 W. 4th St. \$10 donation (\$4 for students and unemployed).

### BOONE, IA

#### May 28-31

The 7th Annual Midwest Radical Therapy Conference will take place at Camp Hantessa in Boone, Iowa. Theme: "Using Radical Therapy for Social Change." Workshops and speakers on Radical Therapy, the draft, racism, sexism, the anti-nuclear struggle, networking and community-building and many more. Cost includes: food, lodging and child-care. Registration is \$75.00 in advance and \$85.00 on site. Write: Midwest Radical Therapy Conference, P.O. Box 521, Madison, WI 53701 or call Max at (608)255-1448.

### NORTHAMPTON, MA

#### June 21-July 2

Conference: "The Crisis in Hegemony: Reconstructing a Left Public." Sponsors: *Social Text*, *New Political Science*, Marxist Literary Group. Sessions/room /board, Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts. Info/registration, c/o Doris Sommer, Amherst College, Amherst 01002; (413) 542-2396.



# bloomingdale's

Continued from page 24

piners and contracted with local craftspeople to render their designs in native and primitive products—mostly shell and rattan. The model rooms are said to evoke various native locales—an executive office in the exclusive district of Makati, Manila; a sugar plantation on the island of Negros; a bamboo house in a beach resort—and are themed “for an imaginary client in a different area of the island archipelago,” according to promotion materials.

It is doubtful, however, that laborers making the minimum wage of \$3.50 a day could afford even the \$60 magazine rack being offered in the Bloomingdale's stores. Of course few Americans can afford the sunken brass bathtub or zebra skin rugs featured in one of the rooms either. The Bloomie's products are aimed at New York's Upper East Side and equi-

valent neighborhoods in other cities.

That is not really the point, however. Americans are learning about the Philippines through this exhibit. What are they learning? Mrs. Marcos gave a clue when she said, “The Philippines is a great ally of the U.S. whether in war or peace... You even have your largest military bases outside the U.S. in the Philippines.” As the nascent guerrilla rebellion being waged in the hills of the country grow alongside urban discontent in the major cities Mrs. Marcos and her husband may need that ally.

The Philippine government clearly attaches considerable importance to what is, after all, a department store promotion. In addition to the First Lady, four ministers of cabinet rank and the ambassador to the U.N. attended the opening day festivities. The entourage then trooped down to Washington for cere-



Protesters challenged the First Lady's image of the Philippines.

monies in the capitol Bloomie's. During the evening gala in New York Secretary of Defense Weinberger was reported to have made an appearance along with Happy Rockefeller and Douglas MacArthur's widow.

Richard Upton, an American businessman and long-time resident of the Philippines, is a former Bloomingdale's employee who helped put the exhibit together in Manila. At the opening he announced to *In These Times* that he was “100 percent behind the First Lady.”

“This promo will mean tons of employment in the Philippines,” Upton said, “Other stores will see it and just take the next place over to get these products.”

Charito Planas, a former Manila lawyer detained for 14 months without charges by the Marcos government and now in exile in the U.S., has a different view. “It is fine that people see the culture of our country and our products,” she said. “But they must realize that the producers of the products are being paid starvation wages. The producers have no political freedom. This superficial display is just exploitation.”

A. Lin Neumann, a New York writer, lived in the Philippines in 1977 and 1978.

## CLASSIFIED

### PUBLICATIONS

**BUILDING THE MOVEMENT IN THE 1980's.** Read Manifesto for an American Revolutionary Party. Available in English or Spanish. National Organization for an American Revolution, Department A, P.O. Box 07249, Detroit, MI 48207. Send \$2.00 plus 50¢ postage.

**READ IN THESE TIMES** reprints. David Moberg's 24-page “Shutdown” reviews the catastrophic effects of plant closings and offers provocative alternatives. Great for classrooms, organizing or just reading. \$1.50 each, ½ price for 10 or more to: ITT, Box A, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622.

### HELP WANTED

**ORGANIZERS**—Educational advocacy group seeks individuals to work with students at university level. Excellent writing and speaking skills; travel 40 hours-plus work-week. Send resume and three references to: Ed Rothstein, SASU, 41 State St., Suite 505, Albany, NY 12207.

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**THE LIVE OAK FUND**, a public foundation supporting grassroots social change projects in Texas, is seeking an Administrator starting July 15, 1982. Applicants should have fundraising and administrative experience, good writing skills and knowledge of progressive community organizations. Fluency in Spanish preferable. Office located in Austin, salary negotiable. Mail resume to P.O. Box 4601, Austin, Texas 78765 by May 15, 1982.

**TWO STAFF PEOPLE** for Mobilization for Survival's national office. Commitment to Zero Nuclear Weapons, Ban Nuclear Power, Reverse the Arms Race, Meet Human Needs required. Organizing experience necessary. Financial skills, anti-nuclear power organizing, media experience preferred, all organizers encouraged to apply. Affirmative Action Employer. Resume to: MFS, 48 St. Marks Place, NY, NY 10003.

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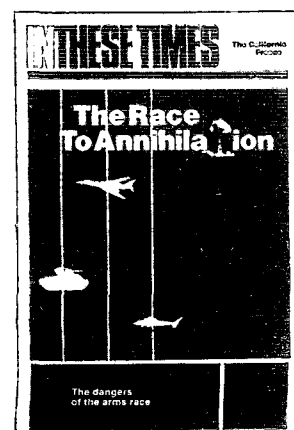
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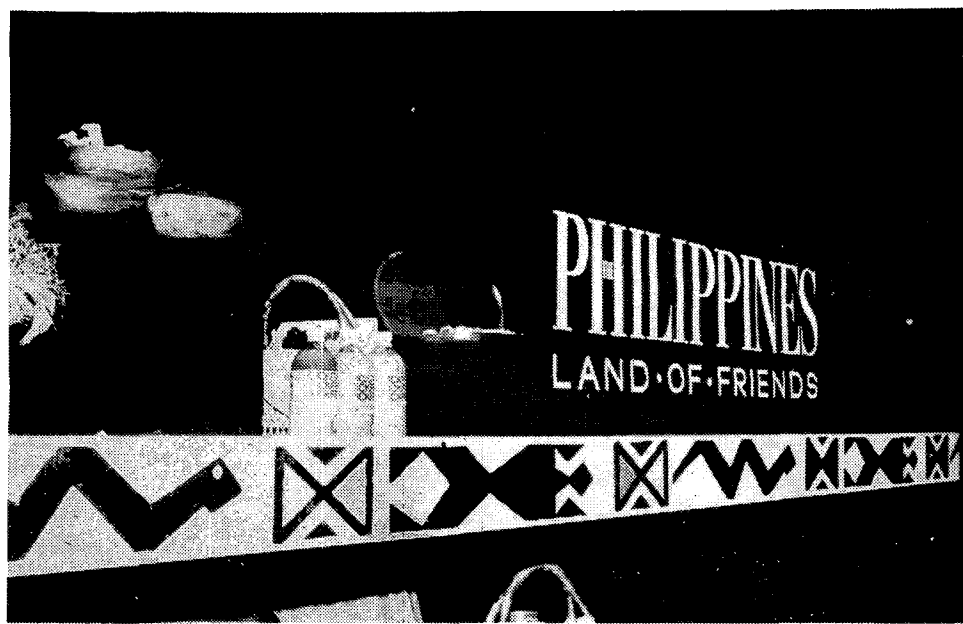


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Bloomingdale's buffs the Philippine's image

# Department Store Diplomacy

By A. Lin Neumann

**E**NTER THE MAIN BLOOMINGDALE's store on 59th Street and Lexington Avenue in New York City. On the main floor, in a glass case above the diamonds, is a mannequin costumed in the native garb of one of the many tribal groups in the Philippines.

On the fifth floor, the "Tribute to Three Heroes" celebrates the life of Douglas MacArthur, Carlos P. Romulo, Philippine foreign minister and President Ferdinand Marcos who is said, in an echo from his 1965 campaign literature, to be "the most decorated member of the citizen's army" that fought against the Japanese in the islands during World War II.

On the third floor is a display of "ternos," the distinctive butterfly-sleeved gown favored by wealthy Filipinas, from the collection of Philippine First Lady Imelda Romualdez Marcos. Each mannequin resembles the First Lady and the display is capped by a white flowing terno covered with gilt-edged doves that she wore during one of her speeches before the United Nations.

Throughout the Bloomingdale's chain it is "Philippines/Land of Friends" time, and will be until May 29. The multimillion dollar promo follows on the heels of the China expo of last spring and the Ireland exhibit held last fall. But what makes this effort unusual is the selection of the Philippines, regarded by Amnesty International and several members of Congress as a human rights violator, for such a grand display.

"The Philippines has been not only little known but little understood," said Marvin Traub, chairman of Bloomingdale's, in an opening press conference. "They have been an ally and a friend—a strong and staunch supporter of the U.S." Imelda Marcos also attended the press conference and black tie gala. She told reporters, "This promotion represents a very enlightened way of forging a friendship...Bloomingdale's is not just marketing the merchandise but the culture of the Philippines."

The First Lady, known for her aggressive schemes to promote the country, has added her special touch to the exhibit. Up to the last minute she was touring with the displays adjusting a basket here, giving an order to an aide there.

Some Bloomingdale's employees have reportedly reacted negatively to the presence of the First Lady and her entour-



Top: store display. Above: protester with effigy of Imelda Marcos.

age. "It's remarkable," a source told *In These Times*, "but this thing is something of a political awakening. People on the floors are saying how crazy it is to cater to this dictatorship. And these people are apolitical." A Filipino employee was said to have been searched and detained for several hours by security people guarding the First Lady.

The benefits for the First Lady from the promotion are clear. She is the founder and guiding force behind the National Livelihood Movement (KKK is the Filipino acronym), a government program

charged with promoting handicrafts and other small and medium-scale export industries. Working with local businesspeople, the KKK seeks to develop markets for native products as part of what Imelda calls the "development of the total man" in the Philippines. Curiously, the program is not part of the Philippine Ministry of Industry but is instead under the Ministry of Human Settlements, the cabinet-level office headed by the First Lady, who is also governor of Metro Manila and a member of the interim Philippine parliament. The products in the promotion have been developed and produced by industries under the KKK umbrella.

When the First Lady and Chairman Traub say the Philippines is "misunderstood," they address a question more fundamental than native basketry—the status of U.S./Philippine relations. Criticized repeatedly by the Carter administration for human rights abuses, the Marcos government has tried of late to polish its image. With a state visit in the offing, Marcos has recently hosted Caspar Weinberger and last year greeted Vice President Bush in Manila. Martial law was lifted shortly before Ronald Reagan took office—although Marcos retained full power—and now the country is being pointed to as a product of Reagan's "quiet diplomacy" on human rights.

Groups of protesters outside the store during the gala and press conference hung Mrs. Marcos in effigy. Therese Rodriguez of the Coalition Against the Marcos Dictatorship said, "We are here to protest the picture of economic prosperity and dynamism that the First Lady and Bloomingdale's are trying to project." Chanting "Hey Marcos Smile While You Can—Remember What Happened to the Shah of Iran!" the demonstrators created enough of a ruckus to steer the First Lady away from a planned public entrance to the evening party.

But the First Lady did not seem shaken. Asked about rising unemployment and the power of foreign companies in the homeland she said, "You know this is what makes New York and America so exciting...you still have the luxury to hear both sides of the question." After recounting the accomplishments of her government she added, "I would like you to come to the Philippines and see for yourself the happy faces of the Philippine people...Beautiful products can only be made by happy people."

She concluded her remarks to the press by saying of New York, "It's like a fiesta. It's just a fiesta of merchandise and free thought."

Inside the exhibit the fiesta spirit is ever-present. Photo murals and dolls illustrating the history of the Philippines complement video tape features on Philippine culture being played throughout the store. You can sample a San Miguel beer in an "authentic" Philippine tavern, and squat on the ground in the "Yakan Weaver's Hut" and chat with Narda, a native weaver from the "highest social strata of the Bontoc tribe," according to a Bloomingdale's press release. Narda is happy to offer a native business card in case you are ever in the home province.

The centerpiece of the show is the fifth-floor home furnishings feature. Bloomingdale's designers went to the Philip-

*Continued on page 23*